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EDUCATION AND THE UNITED NATIONS

A REPORT OF A JOINT COMMISSION OF THE COUNCIL
FOR EDUCATION IN WORLD CITIZENSHIP AND
THE LONDON INTERNATIONAL ASSEMBLY



American Council on Public Affairs

WASHINGTON, D. C.

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Introduction

The issues treated in *Education and the United Nations* are of tremendous concern to the people of the United States. As the citizens of one of the most powerful of the United Nations, we necessarily have an important responsibility in the shaping of policy on these issues. We have an obligation to consider the facts and views presented herein and to formulate our own policies.

The report is being carefully studied by the Liaison Committee for International Education. In the near future, the Committee will transmit to London, as part of an international exchange of ideas, its conclusions with regard to the proposals in the report. Designed to provide an agency whereby various organizations can coordinate their activities in the field of international education, the Committee is composed of representatives of some twenty national educational groups in the United States.

It is gratifying to the Committee that the problem of educational reconstruction is receiving increasing attention in the United States. Various new and old groups are considering ways and means of adapting education to the requirements of a lasting peace. The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, for example, has recognized the importance of education in its various reports. The United States Committee on Educational Reconstruction has sponsored certain studies and institutes bearing on post-war educational reconstruction. The Central and Eastern European Planning Board is deeply concerned with educational reconstruction in Czechoslovakia, Greece, Poland, and Yugoslavia.

The present report is deserving of very careful study by all who are interested in the role of education in the post-war period. It has the special merit of being presented by a Commission with unusually wide representation. It reflects a profound understanding of conditions in the various European countries and of the ideas of educators who have had direct experience with the war.

GRAYSON N. KEFAUVER

Dean, School of Education, Stanford University
Chairman, Liaison Committee for International Education

Comments

In this shrinking world centralized forms of government and democracies can no longer live in peace side by side. The world of the future will either be totalitarian or it will be democratic. We have been through dark days, when it looked as if the cause of self-government might be lost. Fortunately, as always, the free spirit of men everywhere is again asserting itself. We can now look forward confidently to a new era of popular government and international goodwill.

We had the same opportunity twenty-five years ago and we "muffed" it, partly because of our inability to suppress selfish ambitions but largely because we did not give education and mutual understanding that primary place in the world organization which we have long recognized as essential in the successful practice of self-government in domestic affairs. True there were the valiant efforts of the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation under the League and the International Bureau of Education. But on a starvation diet and with little official recognition they could not possibly be more than moderately successful.

Many people both here and abroad now realize some of these fundamental mistakes. There has therefore been much discussion in this country as to the necessity of a strong division of education in the new world organization to be and the part which education should play in building international understanding. Nowhere, however, have we had a more comprehensive analysis of the problems to be confronted or a more challenging conception of the future place of education in the international scheme of things, than is found in *Education and the United Nations*. It is worthy of serious study and extended consideration.

GEORGE F. ZOOK

President, American Council on Education
Washington, D. C.

* * *

At the very time this document was being prepared by the Joint Commission in Great Britain, the Educational Policies Commission—appointed by the National Education Association of the United States and the American Association of School Administrators—was formulating a report on the same subject. The two Commissions worked independently. Their statements, however, are in substantial agreement on most major matters of policy and in many detailed

recommendations as well. This is not mere coincidence. Rather, it is evidence that when people with democratic backgrounds begin to think seriously about achieving the war aims and establishing enduring peace, they come to similar conclusions regarding the essential role of education in those processes.

Both organizations urge that the peacemakers after this war realize that the shaping of the minds of men is no less important than political and economic arrangements. Both agree that education for understanding of international affairs and world citizenship must begin as soon as possible, in each of the United Nations, in order to develop clear understanding of the common purposes of these nations and to preserve their unity through the trying years ahead. Both call attention to the need for educational reconstruction in the Axis-occupied countries of Europe and the Far East; both would make such reconstruction the common responsibility of the United Nations.

The reports of both organizations recommend a permanent international organization for education as an integral part of whatever world government may be developed. They agree, on the whole, in specifying the functions of such an organization: to advance educational standards; to promote education for world citizenship and international cooperation; to appraise teaching materials; to foster intellectual cooperation, exchanges of teachers and students, tours, and international broadcasting; to prepare materials for common use in all countries; and to encourage research on problems of international significance. Both groups propose that an international charter or platform for education be officially adopted and they agree on most of the points proposed for inclusion, notably that all children and youth should have equal access to educational opportunities at all levels.

Each Commission was sensitive to some things which the other treated only briefly. The British Joint Commission is more keenly aware of the need for educational reconstruction in the countries occupied by Germany and Japan; it devotes one-fourth of its space to this subject. The Educational Policies Commission gives more attention to the role of education now, during the war, in developing an informed and aroused public opinion in each of the United Nations regarding the aims of the war and the issues of the peace.

The Joint Commission makes the suggestion of grants-in-aid by an international organization to the less wealthy nations to enable them to attain an acceptable educational minimum. The Educational Policies Commission proposes that the international organization send an advisory commission, on request, to aid any nation to develop its educational system.

At such points the two Commissions do not disagree. They supplement one another. On only one important matter is there disagreement, namely, on the question of compulsory control of education in postwar Germany by educational officials of the United Nations. The British Joint Commission favors such control. The Educational Policies Commission's report does not. The reader of both documents will at least have a good understanding of the issues.

WILLIAM G. CARR

*Secretary, Educational Policies Commission
Washington, D. C.*

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Foreword

At the end of 1941 the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship appointed a Joint Commission to consider and report upon the place of education, science and learning in post-war reconstruction. It was in many ways a very remarkable body. Indeed at any other time or place it would scarcely have been possible for such a group to meet throughout a whole year as we have been able to do during the war which has brought us all together in London from so many parts of the world.

The London International Assembly is an unofficial assembly of people from all the United Nations. It has appointed to serve on the Joint Commission members from Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, Fighting France, Great Britain, Greece, the Netherlands, India, Norway, Poland, the United States of America and Yugoslavia. They included members of several of the Allied Governments' principal officers of the Ministries of Education, which some of those governments have established in London, university professors, representatives of the arts and science, and teachers from schools of many kinds.

The Council of Education in World Citizenship had already begun a similar inquiry with the help of some of its friends from Allied countries and was therefore invited to co-operate. It is a council of representatives appointed by each of the British associations of local education authorities and of teachers. It was repre-

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sented on the Joint Commission by, among others, members from the Universities, University Departments for the Training of Teachers and Teachers' Training Colleges, the County Councils' Association and Association of Directors and Secretaries for Education, the Headmasters' Conference, Headmistresses' Association, National Union of Teachers, Assistant Masters' Association, and Workers' Educational Association.

We were therefore able to draw upon a very wide range of experience and we approached our task from many angles and with many points of view; but all of us served in a personal capacity and we were not bound by nor, of course, did we commit in any way the various official or private bodies with which we were associated.

Altogether there were fifty-six of us and, in addition, observers were appointed by the Board of Education, the British Council and the Royal Institute of International Affairs. I was asked to be Chairman and Mr. C. W. Judd, who is the Secretary of both the Assembly and the C.E.W.C., undertook the secretaryship of the Commission and drafted our report.

This report of our first year's work has now been presented to the London International Assembly and to the Council for Education in World Citizenship and both bodies have unanimously recorded their general approval. They have since submitted it to the Allied Governments for their consideration. Meanwhile some of the issues we considered have already become the subject of popular discussion. It has therefore been decided that without waiting for the conclusion of our work, this report upon the first part of it should be published as a contribution to that discussion, on issues which we believe to be vitally important in any plans for post-war settlement.

It has been said of the statesmen who drew up the Treaty of Versailles that, whilst they were greatly interested in the political settlement, they paid far too little attention to economics and none to education. This time "freedom from want" is one of the few

war aims the governments of the United Nations have so far declared and there is already considerable discussion of the economic and financial arrangements that must be made. But unless equal attention is paid to the restoration, extension and improvement of education in all countries it is by no means certain that we can achieve any greater prosperity after so much destruction; and, above all, it is idle to hope for an enduring peace without some solid foundations of education for world citizenship.

During this first year our Commission has been principally concerned with three main problems, the restoration of education in the countries that have been under Axis oppression, the re-education of Germany, and international arrangements for the advancement of education. We have worked steadily throughout the year and there are certain main propositions that we feel we must advocate with all our strength and for which we now seek the widest possible support; but the subject is vast and we claim neither to have covered the whole ground nor to have said the last word on any part of it.

We know that various groups, both national and international, have been making somewhat similar studies in the United States and we offer our report to them as a contribution to that interchange of studies on these subjects that we should like to establish. We have some reason to hope that it will be found that they and we are in general agreement upon the main objectives, but we have done no more than sketch them in broad outline and we should greatly welcome an opportunity to collaborate with competent bodies in America in working out such proposals in much more detail.

Although the U.S.S.R. is represented by observers in the Assembly, we were not able to secure participation of any Soviet representatives in our inquiry. We believe it, however, to be essential that understandings should be reached as soon as possible with Russia on these as on all other important aspects of post-war settlement.

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For reasons of personal security it was deemed to be unwise to give publicity to the names of some members of the Commission who come from occupied countries and have relatives still in the power of the Nazis. It was therefore decided to omit the complete list of members of the Commission from the report now published for general circulation.

GILBERT MURRAY.

*Chairman of the Joint Commission
President of the International Committee
on Intellectual Cooperation*

The Commission's Background

The London International Assembly was formed in September, 1941, "to serve the common cause of all those nations that are resisting aggression by providing greater opportunities for the people of Great Britain and of each of the allied and associated nations—(a) to understand more fully each other's history, economic development, institutions, way of life and national aspirations, and (b) to consider the principles of post-war policy and the application of those principles to the problems of national and international affairs." The Assembly "is not committed to any policy and does not seek to support any specific proposals; it is an unofficial organization, independent of all Government control, and its purpose is to provide opportunities for study and research and a full exchange of views." It does, however, from time to time commend to the earnest consideration of the Governments of the United Nations proposals that meet with the general assent of its members.

The members are elected by a General Purposes Committee and are chosen to represent so far as possible the chief aspects of the national life of each of the United Nations, e.g., Parliament, the armed services, religious bodies, law, education, arts, science, agriculture, commerce and industry, trade unions, journalism, etc.

The present officers are: *President*, The Right Honorable Viscount Cecil; *Deputy President*, Monsieur Henri Rolin, Senator, Professor of International Law at the University of Brussels, member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration; *Honorary Vice-*

Presidents, Monsieur Thanassis Aghnides, Greek Ambassador in London; Professor René Cassin, Fighting French National Commissioner for Justice and Public Instruction; Monsieur Jan Masaryk, Czechoslovak Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Deputy Prime Minister; Monsieur August Zaleski, Chief of the Civil Chancellery of the President of the Polish Republic; *Joint Chairmen of the General Purposes Committee*, Professor Arthur Newell, President of the American Outpost; Miss K. D. Courtney, Vice-Chairman of the League of Nations Union Executive Committee; *Secretary*, Mr. C. W. Judd.

Five Commissions were appointed in the first year to prepare for the consideration of the Assembly reports and recommendations on political warfare, proposals for the trial of war criminals, future international organization and security against war, social and economic reconstruction, and the place of education, science and learning in post-war reconstruction.

* * *

The Council for Education in World Citizenship is a British council of representatives appointed by all the national associations of local education authorities and of teachers and by other important educational bodies. The Chairman of the Council is Dr. Gilbert Murray, O.M., formerly Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford.

The main purpose of the Council is to promote throughout the educational system such studies and such teaching as may best contribute to mutual understanding, peace, co-operation and goodwill between all peoples and so lead eventually to the building of a world commonwealth.

In pursuance of these objects, the Council undertakes special inquiries and prepares reports and recommendations for the consideration of teachers, organizes summer schools and lecture courses for teachers and senior pupils, and publishes study outlines and other papers. It provides books and material for use in the

schools and finds well-qualified lecturers for special occasions. Several hundred schools have formed study and discussion groups which are associated with the Council, and in the universities and teachers' training colleges it assists the work of the British Universities League of Nations Society, now carried out by the Student Federation for International Co-operation.

Between meetings of the Council its work is directed by an elected Management Committee and is promoted by correspondents in schools and other educational institutions.

At Oxford in January, 1941, the Council held a conference with representatives of Allied Ministries of Education and university professors and teachers from the Allied countries. The conference examined the effect of enemy occupation on education, and, in the name of the whole teaching profession of Great Britain, the Council sent a message of encouragement to the teachers in the occupied countries, expressing its profound admiration for their fearless defense of truth. A small Oxford Conference Continuation Committee was appointed to examine the measures of assistance that will be required after the war in restarting the intellectual and educational life of the occupied regions, and the measures that should be planned now to promote after the war by inter-governmental action and private initiative the general advancement of education and, in particular, of education for world citizenship. This work was subsequently merged in that of the Joint Commission with the London International Assembly.

* * *

On the basis of very detailed and well-documented reports compiled from governmental and other sources by each of the national groups whose territory has been in whole or part occupied by the enemy the London International Assembly, at its meetings in October and November, 1941, examined the actual position in those countries, the policies of the occupying powers, the effect on every aspect of the national life and the resistance

of the peoples. On November 17th special consideration was given to those sections of the reports which were concerned with education, and, on the proposal of Dr. Gilbert Murray, as a member of the British group, it was unanimously agreed to invite the Council for Education in World Citizenship to join with the Assembly in setting up a Commission whose task it should be to prepare, for the consideration of the Assembly and of the Council, a report and recommendations concerning the place of education, religion,* science and learning in post-war reconstruction. The Assembly expressed the hope that the Commission would seek the collaboration of other interested and competent bodies. The invitation was gladly accepted by the Council for Education in World Citizenship, members were appointed by both bodies, and it was agreed between them to invite Dr. Gilbert Murray, President of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, to be Chairman, and Mr. C. W. Judd, Secretary of the Council and of the Assembly, to be Secretary of the Commission. The first meeting was held on February 4th, 1942.

*Consideration of the place of organized religion in post-war reconstruction was subsequently transferred to another Commission established by the London International Assembly to report on that subject.

*Preface**

Many years ago Comenius wrote:

"And now, I see my country, her churches and her schools all in ruins. Yet when the fire of war was spreading beyond her borders to seize first the neighboring countries and then the whole of Europe, and was threatening the Christian world with disaster and desolation, I had no greater comfort than I found in the ancient promises of God concerning the supreme and final Light, that it should in the end put darkness to flight. And if any human aid were needed for this I thought that it could only come from the better instruction of the young in all matters from the most elementary and fundamental, if they are to be delivered from the mazes of the world."

We believe you shared his vision and his faith when, at a dark hour of this great war, you invited us to consider and report upon the place of education, religion, science and learning in post-war reconstruction.

Wherever the invading armies of the Axis have carried the evil of Nazi-Fascist tyranny, ministers of religion, teachers, students and pupils, and all who are or might become the spiritual and intellectual leaders of the people have been among the first to suffer death or persecution and among the most intrepid fighters in the moral and physical struggle for the defense of liberty and truth. The lives of the martyrs cannot be restored. Many

*Preliminary statement of the Commission's report to the officers and members of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship.

cultural treasures of the ages that were the great inheritance of the whole civilized family of nations have been most wantonly destroyed and can never be replaced. But the minds and bodies of countless young people tormented and starved in every imprisoned country, can be restored. Churches, universities, schools and libraries can be rebuilt and re-equipped. (These things must be done and we have felt it to be our first and imperative duty to consider by what means those countries that have suffered the vile plague of enemy occupation can best be assisted in the full reconstruction of their moral, cultural and intellectual life and in the speedy re-establishment of scientific and educational work.)

In our endeavors to ascertain the extent of this problem we have been greatly assisted by many of the Allied Ministries of Education which have supplied us, through the various national groups in the London International Assembly, with the latest information in their possession and with detailed answers to a questionnaire. In presenting our recommendations on this subject we have thought it to be our duty to give first a brief survey of the situation at the present time, so far as we can ascertain it. We fully realize, however, that the tremendous problems this already presents may be very greatly increased if victory is delayed or new destruction on a wide scale results from further military operations on the Continent or is savagely perpetuated by retreating Axis forces. Such possibilities only increase the urgent need for the Governments of the United Nations to undertake as soon as possible the necessary preparations for the work of reconstruction.

It was not within our terms of reference to examine the military, political and economic measures that should be taken by the United Nations in order to make it impossible for Germany and her accomplices ever again to plunge the world in war; but we did consider it to be most clearly a part of our duty to study the possibility of re-educating the peoples of those countries so as to bring them ultimately into the comity of civilized nations. We therefore directed our attention next to what has been in many

ways the most difficult of all the problems before us: the reconstruction of education in the enemy countries after the war.

We have considered primarily the situation that is likely to arise in Germany after the victory of the United Nations, and their responsibilities toward it during the period of occupation which we assume. Much has already been written about Nazi education. It is admirably surveyed in the short paper by Professor E. R. Dodds, *Minds in the Making*, from which we quote the following passages:

"An official definition of the purpose of the new education is given in the Education Ministry's *Amtsblatt* of January 5th, 1935: it is 'to incorporate German Youth in Home, Folk and State by awakening sound racial forces, and cultivating them with a conscious political aim.'

"This curious piece of jargon was translated into plainer terms by the German Minister of Education when he told an interviewer that 'the whole function of all our education is to produce National-Socialists' (*Volksischer Beobachter*, February 13th, 1938). To ensure that it shall discharge that function, the entire educational system has in seven years been re-modelled from top to bottom. At the top the aim is, in the words of the Rector of the University of Berlin, 'to eliminate the dregs of a past liberal age,' and so produce 'a National-Socialist university in a National Socialist state'; at the bottom, in the words of a leading German educationalist, the elementary school must become 'the people's school of ideology (*Weltanschauung*) under the protection of the State,' while in the secondary school, according to the Ministry's Handbook, the humanistic ideal of culture (*Bildung*) must be replaced by the ideal of 'the German man, determined by his blood and his historic destiny. . . . not until our day could the head of a great nation say to the assembled youth of his nation: The Movement has formed you; from the Movement you have received your uniform; and in the service of the Movement you will remain your whole life through. That is the wonderful thing;

in you the first link of our people's education is forged: with you the chain begins, and it will reach its end only when the last German sinks into his grave.'

"That is, as Hitler says, the wonderful thing—that education, the great liberating force which has been at work since the Renaissance transforming the face of Europe, will become henceforth, if the German plan prevails, the instrument of fixation and the supreme assurance against change. In the German youth of to-day the first link is being forged; and what in 1649, in 1789, in 1848, even in 1933, was the dynamic of revolution will be to-morrow the palladium of a new Byzantinism."

The German plan will not prevail, but in thinking of the kind of Germany with which we shall have to deal after the war we shall ignore at our peril the fact that those aims have been ruthlessly pursued already for nine years "with all the brutality that duty demands." Everything has had to make way for the mass production of fanatical Nazis. Thousands of professors and teachers have been dismissed, libraries have been purged, associations of students, broken up, prayers have been abolished in the elementary schools, and the time available for religious instruction severely cut down. All religious youth associations have now been dissolved and their members required to join the Hitler Youth, whose official educational Handbook associates the Christian Church with Free Masonry and Marxism as three forces which "seek, more or less, power over the whole earth" and therefore "cannot acknowledge the human ties of race, community or nation without abandoning their own aims." At the same time a very carefully selected élite of boys are trained as Party Leaders in the new *National politische Erziehungsanstalten* and in the Hitler Schools which devote one third of their time to physical training, one third to Hitler Youth activities, and one third to lessons in order that they may become, in the words of Dr. Ley, "Great in knowledge, blind in obedience, fanatical in faith."

In the secondary schools, courses in "biology" or, in plain terms, anti-semitism have been made compulsory for all pupils from the lowest classes to the highest, "at the expense if necessary of mathematics and foreign languages." In the elementary schools only German history is taught and, according to recent Ministerial instructions, "the heroic spirit and the idea of leadership in its Germanic form are to fill the whole history teaching, excite the children, and arouse and strengthen their will to fight" (*Wehrwillen*). And, as one writer frankly admits, "the teacher must in history lessons be *deliberately* one-sided. He must educate his pupils so that they may recognize the rights of their own nation only."

We believe, with Professor Dodds, that, broadly speaking, the American historian Charles Beard was right, as regards the young generation of Germans, when he wrote in *Foreign Affairs* in April, 1936: "If the Hitler regime continues for several years, the German people will be a people almost totally ignorant of the outside world and indifferent to all ideas and interests not contained in the Nazi creed."

That is the nature of the problem that must be faced and, in our own examination of it, we have not ignored the fact that its roots lie further back in the history of the German people. Some of the writings of Fichte about the necessity of educating "cruel warriors" are remarkably like the stuff talked and written by the Nazi leaders today, and Nazism is undoubtedly only the latest and most violent form of the vaunted *Kultur* of the German people, of their militarist tradition, Pan-Germanism and disastrous worship of their own race.

We were exceptionally fortunate in having the collaboration of Professor Dodds as a member of the Commission until his appointment to the Foreign Research and Press Service. He provided us with memoranda on the German educational system and on the purposes pursued by education in Germany before 1914, in the days of the Weimar Republic and under the Nazi regime

that were of the greatest assistance to us; but the conclusions to which we have come are entirely our own, and he shares no responsibility for them.

We are similarly indebted to Dr. Minio Paluello and to Mr. C. S. Wang, who contributed to later sessions most illuminating papers on education in Italy and Japan and the kind of educational reforms that it would be desirable to ensure in those countries. But in this first report we have, in the main, confined our attention in this part of our work to Germany.

We have considered the task allotted to us to include much more than the mere reconstruction of educational and cultural systems and institutions as part of the general process of reconstruction after the war. It seemed to us proper to consider also the *kind* of education that should be provided in all countries in order that a new generation may be able to create the new world proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter and other statements of our war aims. The fulfilment of so large an aim will undoubtedly require that we should give to children in the schools the best possible instruction in every subject taught them. But, if we are less concerned with the teaching of mathematics, science and engineering than might be expected, it is because we believe that man's mechanical inventions have outstripped his growth in social consciousness and organization, so that today the integration of all "subjects" in the training of good citizens is more important than the methods of teaching any one of them separately. It should in our view be one of the primary aims of education to prepare the hearts and minds of men for the winning of the peace that should follow the winning of the war.

Writing in the *Educational Survey* in 1932, Sir Alfred Zimmern said:

"We are constantly being told—and with truth—that the future of the world depends upon the younger generation; for upon the influences which mold men's minds in youth depend the actions that they undertake and the policies they espouse in the

future years. It follows therefore that, since at the time when the present generation of statesmen and voters was at school few or no influences directed towards international co-operation were brought to bear on them, it would be little short of a miracle if the peoples and their Governments were prepared in this generation to take a long step towards the international goal. The League of Nations was founded practically without intellectual preparation. The fact preceded the idea. There were good and sufficient reasons for this. The war had created a vacuum into which the League seemed to fit. But the fact remains that the League entered upon its career without the benefit of the long intellectual incubation through which the ideas of the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Italian *Risorgimento*, the German Reich, the democratization of the British electorate, and similar large scale changes in modern civilization passed before they issued as practical projects and political or social realities. The League in the first generation of its history is like a building in which work is being carried on on the first floor amidst a forest of scaffold-poles whilst laborers are still engaged on patiently laying the foundations."

We felt bound to consider how sound education can this time be made a sure foundation of the post-war system. In this part of our inquiry we have profited from the work that the Council for Education in World Citizenship had already started in January, 1941, at its Conference at Oxford with professors and teachers of the Allied Countries and representatives of their Ministries of Education. At the Conference and in later discussions of the Continuation Committee, the Council had already begun a critical examination of what had been attempted, what more might have been attempted, and the value of what had been accomplished between the two wars to promote education for a peaceful and democratic order based on free co-operation. Its inquiries had covered both governmental and inter-governmental action and the work of private agencies, and it had examined evidence submitted by Dr. Gilbert Murray, the President of the International Com-

mittee on Intellectual Co-operation; by M. Henri Bonnet, formerly Director of the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris; by Dr. Maxwell Garnett, who had for nearly twenty years been Secretary of the British League of Nations Union—one of the most successful of these Unions in educational work; by the Rev. Gwilym Davies, Honorary Director of the Welsh League of Nations Union Education Committee, who had followed at Geneva and Paris all the more important meetings of the intellectual co-operation organizations, and of the major international associations interested in the problems of peace through education; and by Miss Marie Butts, General Secretary of the Bureau International d'Education, which, with the support of some governments but with all the limitations of a semi-private organization, had made great efforts to undertake at least some part of the work that might have been carried out by a real League of Nations Education Office.

In our discussions on this matter—as, indeed, on all other subjects—we have been especially privileged to have as our Chairman Dr. Gilbert Murray. His wisdom and his wide experience have guided and inspired us in all our deliberations. It has also been of great assistance to us to have as one of our members one of the former principal secretaries of the Institute of Intellectual Co-operation in Paris. We ourselves have considered a large number of memoranda and proposals submitted to us, including a scheme by Dr. Leimdoerfer for a great elaboration of that part of the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation which was concerned with education for international co-operation.

It was not until 1923 that the League of Nations, at the instance of a British Delegate, Dame Edith Lyttleton, began to concern itself with education through its Committee on Intellectual Co-operation—and then only with the methods by which young people could be taught “to regard international co-operation as the normal method of conducting world affairs.” We do

not, of course, in any way belittle the work achieved by the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, the "League of Minds," as Paul Valéry once described it. Indeed, we look to the re-establishment of all those activities of the Committee which brought together many of the leaders of thought in all parts of the world. We are nevertheless convinced that the time has come when education must be given a far larger place in the considerations of Governments and, in our view, they should prepare to establish as soon as possible a great international agency to promote the advancement of education generally and, in particular, of education for world citizenship.

Our Commission held its first meeting on February 4th, 1942. We have since then met twelve times, including meetings over the whole of one week-end at St. Hilda's College, Oxford. As our numbers are so large and all of us are very busily engaged in other work, it has not been practicable to meet more often, but we have found it possible to ease our work considerably by appointing several small committees which have met frequently to draft proposals for our consideration after each section of our work had first been thoroughly considered in full commission.

It was your wish that we should seek the collaboration of any other responsible bodies engaged in similar inquiries and we were delighted that one of our members, Dr. Maxwell Garnett, was appointed Chairman of the Committee set up by the British Association for the Advancement of Science to consider post-war university education. We were able to persuade Professor F. E. Weiss, the Honorary Secretary, to join us; and our own Secretary, Mr. C. W. Judd, became a member of their Committee. While we did not feel that we could exclude university questions from any proper examination of the subject remitted to us, we have nevertheless considered Dr. Garnett's Committee as the body primarily concerned with university questions and—now that its membership has been enlarged to include a much wider representation of university professors from the allied countries—we propose, so far as possible, to leave to them examination of all further

questions concerning the universities, representing to them from time to time such considerations as may arise in the course of our own discussions.

In April the New Education Fellowship convened a conference of educationists from the Allied countries to draft a Children's Charter and a committee was appointed to prepare expository memoranda dealing especially with the educational implications of the charter. We therefore invited the Chairman, Mr. J. Compton, to serve on the Commission and he has since attended our meetings or been represented by Miss Clare Soper, the International Secretary of the Fellowship.

As will appear from the final section of our report, if our proposals win your approval, it is our intention to invite a number of great voluntary organizations to confer with us separately on the special aspects of reconstruction in which they are likely to be directly interested and in which some of them may have to play a very vital role.

In addition to the members of the Commission we have had the great advantage of the presence of several important observers. The Royal Institute of International Affairs, which assists the Assembly in various ways, has been good enough to send an observer to our Commission to provide liaison with its work. Further, since April, both the Board of Education and the British Council have been good enough to send official observers to our meetings and, if we have your authority, we would wish to submit our proposals to them and to the educational authorities of all the United Nations.

We now have the honor to lay our first report before you and to express the hope that it will receive the full endorsement* both of the London International Assembly, representing enlightened public opinion in all the United Nations, and the Council for Education in World Citizenship, representing the national association of local education authorities and of teachers, and many other educational bodies in Great Britain.

*The resolution adopted by the London International Assembly and by the Council for Education in World Citizenship will be found at the end of this report.

Chapter I

Destruction and Reconstruction

The Nazi German's behavior in the occupied countries follows logically from the doctrines on which all young Germans have been reared. It is perhaps worth while to recall one or two passages, chosen more or less at random, from *Mein Kampf*:

"The first stages of civilization were not based so much on the use of tamed animals as on the employment of human beings who were members of an inferior race."

"A peace that would be guaranteed by the triumphant sword of a people endowed with a power to master the world."

"... when the most superior type of manhood will have succeeded in subjugating the world to such an extent that this type is the sole master of the earth."

Sole masters of the world! And, as the loquacious Dr. Ley has told them since the war for world mastery began:

"The German race, that is our faith! It has higher rights than all others. A German laborer is worth more than an English lord. We have a divine right to rule, and we will assure ourselves of that right." (Speech at Lodz, December, 1939.)

"It is a fight for the destruction of England, the leadership of the world and the domination of our race. If there be a God and a higher Providence, then must He give to the higher race, that is, to us, higher rights." (Speech at Chemnitz, February, 1940.)

"A lower race needs less room, less clothing, less food and less culture than a higher race. A German cannot live under the same conditions as a Pole or a Jew." (*Angriff*, January 31, 1940.)

And so the armies have gone out to loot and destroy, to plunder and kill those they would not or could not enslave. We very much doubt if, even now, the free peoples of the world have any real conception of the enormity of the destruction that has been wrought and of the crimes that have been perpetrated by the Nazi armies and their faithful imitators from Italy, Bulgaria, and the other Axis states. Nor, perhaps, do they realize that it is not just wanton destruction, blood lust, but the coldly calculated diabolical pursuit of a deliberate policy. Vast areas of Eastern Europe are being methodically, systematically depopulated by famine, huge enforced migrations and wholesale massacres—carefully planned and executed—to clear the soil for the expansion of the master race. The unexpected difficulties and prolongation of the war have necessitated various deviations in the bald and rapid execution of their full European plans. Owing to the bombing of German factories and armament manufacturing centers it has been necessary temporarily to maintain and even to extend some industries in the occupied countries. It has been necessary in some countries to make at least the appearance of concessions in order to attempt to recruit skilled labor for the Reich. But in bold outline the plan is clear.

The Nazis do not, of course, treat all countries alike. Parts of Poland, Alsace-Lorraine and Luxembourg have been incorporated in the Reich. The Dutch and Scandinavians are regarded as poor and distant relations; their spirit of independence must be broken or sapped by Quisling Governments, but they may be allowed to be the slave overseers. Dutchmen, no longer Dutchmen but second-rate Germans, must be prepared to leave their homes and be settled in Eastern Europe to guard the boundary areas against the eternal enemy, the Slav of Russia—what would be left of it! The French may be intermediaries in sapping the resistance of the Americas; they may be allowed to keep up some appearances. But, in one way or another, all Europe—most of it reduced to exploited agricultural colonies—is to serve the German Reich.

To pursue this policy successfully it is first necessary to destroy or reduce to impotence and blind obedience the leaders of each nation and all who might aspire to take their places. This means not only the political leaders, but all who are highly esteemed in the life of the country: the trade union leaders, the clergy, who might strengthen the souls of the people and so increase their power to suffer and resist, and the intelligentsia, the professors, teachers, and even the high school pupils. Indeed, in every country the intellectual leaders and the teachers have been among the first to be attacked. They are the trustees of the history of the nation—it must not be passed on. Throughout history they have been the pioneers of progress: they could inspire resistance now. They stand for the freedom of the human mind: the mind of the enslaved race must bend to the conqueror's will. Moreover, to take Poland as an example, the Polish lands, according to the Governor General Frank, "are to be turned into an intellectual desert," so "the Poles do not need any universities or schools." They are to be the hewers of wood and drawers of water. "We do not consider it necessary," declares Frank, "to carry on the Polish libraries' work, as only nations with a historic destiny write books."

So no new books must be published without the Governor General's license—which, of course, he only gives for German propaganda. Libraries must be despoiled. All books that could remind the Polish people of their greatness must be destroyed. So, too, their monuments. Instead there is encouraged a policy of deliberate demoralization, gambling dens with low stakes "to enable the broad masses to play" (*Krakauer Zeitung*, April 6, 1941), pornographic literature, disreputable theaters and vice.

But the Poles, the Slavs, denounced as "the eternal enemies of the Germans," have been degraded to the lowest rank in the racial hierarchy; the distant cousins who may do some of the dirty work for the master race have to contend with cunning as well as brutal suppression. From time to time great appeals are made to their youth. Attempts have been made to induce a few young Quislings

to take part in peripatetic youth manifestations across Europe, appealing to the youth of Europe with catchwords of the New Order, a new age that is to be an age of golden opportunity for all youth who will have the vision to throw off the shackles of their elders and co-operate with the young German Reich. A few students are encouraged and assisted to study at German universities—for the students of Luxembourg who always studied abroad, and of Czechoslovakia, now deprived of its own ancient seats of learning, no other opportunity exists for university work. School children are taken to Germany for holidays from Belgium or from Holland, feted and return laden with presents.

The results are meager in the extreme. Everywhere the scholars, young and old, maintain the fight. Thousands of professors, teachers and students have suffered death or the concentration camps or joined guerrilla forces in the fight for human dignity and the freedom of the human mind. But terrible destruction has been done. We have endeavored to make some brief survey of the position in each of the occupied territories and a first rough estimate of the magnitude of the tasks of restoration that would be required even if the war were to end today. We base ourselves in this section of our report upon material made available to us—in many cases from the Ministry of Education—through each national group represented on the Commission, and on the admirable survey, *Axis Oppression of Education*, issued by the Inter-Allied Information Committee.

BELGIUM

Up to now only the University of Louvain has suffered great material damage; here in May, 1940, the Germans destroyed a dozen university buildings, including notably the famous library which was also burned down by the Germans in August, 1914. Rebuilt, thanks to the whole world, it has once more been destroyed in similar circumstances. Even if Belgium is capable of meeting the cost of reconstructing the buildings, she will need the

friendly collaboration of the Allied countries in re-establishing the collection of books which represent an indispensable intellectual asset, not only for Louvain University life, but also for the cultural development of the whole country. At the time of its destruction the library contained 900,000 books of which 15,000 have been saved, and 800 manuscripts of which only 15 remain; 811 incunabula, 200 prints and 22,000 photostat reproductions of manuscripts, and a notable series of manuscripts in the Coptic language which have also been destroyed.

In the short campaign in Belgium there was no great damage to school and university buildings and, apart from the tragic loss of the Louvain Library, none that Belgium could not herself make good.

Throughout the country the spirit of resistance shown by the universities and schools has been most marked. After a long dispute the German authorities finally closed the Free University of Brussels "in consequence of the hostile attitude of the professors toward the New Order," and many of its members, deans of faculties and other academic leaders were arrested. Four months later the Germans tried to arrange for the re-opening of the university but the professors, realizing that the intention was to make it a State University and later to Nazify it, stood by their Council. They lost their salaries but the Germans lost the battle of the Free University.

In the schools the Germans have tried to stamp out all patriotic thought, thinking and behavior; and many teachers have been imprisoned or deported to Germany for anti-German activity. School textbooks have been rigorously censored and in some schools the use of textbooks has been discontinued altogether. Hundreds of books have been removed from public libraries.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Before the war began Germany had already given ample proof of her barbarism by her treatment of all intellectual life in Czecho-

slovakia. At the moment of the occupation on March 15, 1939, a strict censorship destroyed at one blow every vestige of freedom of speech in the press, on the radio, in the theater, and in the cinema; schools were placed under German control: Czechoslovak scientific workers were prevented from having any direct contact with the scientific world outside; French and English scientific works were banned from entry to the country.

Once the political sovereignty of the country had been destroyed, the universities, as the visible symbol of the nation's cultural sovereignty, were soon attacked. The story of November 16th and 17th, 1939, is so well known that we would do no more than refer to it here. In all the free nations, November 17th is now observed as International Students' Day in memory of the several thousand students who between the 16th and 18th of November were seized from their beds, arrested in their laboratories, rounded up in the streets, flogged and tortured—irrespective of sex. Many were shot, thousands were packed into trucks and driven to the concentration camps of Dachau, Buchenwald and Oranienburg. The University of Prague was closed, first for three years and now permanently. A similar fate overtook the universities, institutes of university standing, and the students in other towns throughout the Protectorate. University buildings were laid waste, libraries were looted, systematically and according to previously prepared plans, the archives of the Senate were destroyed. All students not already in concentration camps were given 48 hours in which to find manual work or be sent to Germany for forced labor. A great number of university professors and other intellectual leaders of the nation have been executed.

Sixty per cent of the elementary schools have been closed in Bohemia and Moravia, and in the remaining schools in those provinces the average size of classes is between eighty and ninety. There is reason to believe that as many as seventy per cent of the higher elementary schools have been closed. (New curricula are designed to secure the quickest possible Germanization of the

country. Every Czech child is expected to understand and to speak German fluently at the age of twelve.

Any Labor Exchange is entitled to conscript any child of ten or over, even during school term, and to send him or her to work anywhere it chooses. Children of fourteen are sent into mines or factories and kept there permanently. Only about one-third of the usual number of pupils were admitted to the secondary schools this year and girls are now completely excluded; so too are the children of former politicians or of "progressive" parents.

Teachers, like the professors of the universities, have been brutally treated.

The Germans and Hungarians have between them systematically despoiled the whole country, taking away valuable books and documents, museum and other learned collections, optical and other apparatus for the production and popularization of artistic works, the property of the State, provinces, communes, cities, churches, gymnastic and other associations and private individuals.

FRANCE

We have no exact evidence of the material damage inflicted on schools and academic institutions during military operations, but it would not appear to have been on a scale beyond the resources of liberated France to repair in a reasonably short space of time.

Alsace and Lorraine. Here the policy has been the complete Germanization of youth as rapidly as possible; but great difficulties have been encountered. For example, all boys and girls were ordered to join the *Hitler Jugend* and the *Bund Deutscher Mädchen*; but no leaders could be found, in spite of lavish bribes. Finally civil servants were compelled to send their boys to Germany to be trained for this work. In the schools the first new timetables prescribed for each week: two (or three) hours of political instruction (National Socialism, racial theories, etc.), four hours of history (beginning with the Treaty of Versailles), two hours for geography, mathematics and physics, two hours of

"biology" (anti-Semitism), two hours of singing, one or two lessons in Latin and English and *twelve* hours of German. French was forbidden.

Zone Interdite. As part of the deliberate policy of splitting up conquered countries this zone is directly administered by the Nazi authorities in Brussels.

Occupied Zone (i.e., the part occupied before the recent total occupation of the country). Here the Germans, their decrees sometimes reinforced by circulars from Vichy, have tried to impose a reform of the schools, to ban a great many textbooks and to introduce others. But because of active opposition, "attentisme" and shortage of paper little progress has been made, very few, if any, new textbooks have yet been introduced and the lack of them has given many teachers an excuse to go on using some of the old books.

In the Vichy Zone. Pétain and his Government have tried to reform education along Nazi lines, paying great attention to new youth movements formed on Nazi models.

In both zones all free youth organizations have been suppressed, but there is good reason to believe that many continue to exist and meet in secret. According to a recent report from France, "Strange as it may seem, it is above all the youth of school age which still comes under the influences conforming to the true French traditions and aspirations. As far as possible, primary and secondary school teachers, the immense majority of whom are hostile to the Government and to the policy of collaboration, are imbuing their young pupils with a patriotic spirit."

University professors are at one with the teachers. Many have been arrested and some executed; but no ruthlessness has succeeded in driving the true French spirit from the schools, the lycées and the universities.

Many stories have been told of the high-spirited acts of defiance by the students, sometimes ridiculing decrees aimed at Jews or other fellow students, at other times organizing patriotic dem-

onstrations in the streets, like those who marched through Paris behind two fishing rods and crying "*deux gaules*."

GREECE

According to authoritative information twenty-four towns in Greece have been partly or totally destroyed by military operations, air raids and earthquake. A careful calculation suggests that the schools for between 90,000 and 100,000 children must have been wiped out. Moreover, in the territories occupied by the Bulgarians, where there were probably some 200,000 school children, only a few schools are still open, and these are all Bulgarian schools—an abomination to the Greeks. The Bulgarians are trying deliberately to exterminate all Greek culture in this part of the country and Greek schools have been destroyed or are rapidly being ruined by use as barracks and stores. Their equipment, such as desks, windows, libraries, scientific apparatus, etc., has almost certainly been destroyed. So it will almost certainly be necessary to provide new schools for at least 150,000 boys and girls and equipment for at least 300,000.

The famine and deaths resulting from it, massacres and enforced migration have increased still further the huge task of reconstruction, for many hundreds, probably thousands, of children are orphans or have been lost. They wander homeless and starving about the streets and countryside, and for those that survive it will be necessary to provide boarding schools. Further, supplementary schooling in one form or another must be arranged for the children, both of the elementary and the secondary schools, who have not been to school since the outbreak of hostilities and who in the meantime have been drafted into some form of work.

There will be a great shortage of teachers, for many young masters have been killed or maimed for life in the war, thousands have been sent to forced labor camps and made to take up manual work, and the flow of new teachers from the training colleges must have been severely interrupted. It is unlikely that many satisfac-

tory volunteers from other countries could be found to help meet this shortage for, unless they already know modern Greek, it would take at least a year of residence, or a much longer period of study abroad, before they could be sufficiently conversant with it. Instead, it has been suggested to us that, at the end of the war, young people in Greece who have matriculated should be enrolled as elementary school teachers, without further training, and that they should later be given the opportunity to attend special one-year training colleges, in which they would follow a condensed course, combining professional training and supplementary study of their own subjects. Friends of Greece in America and Britain could help to promote such a scheme by founding scholarships to enable unqualified teachers, hastily recruited at the end of the war, to undertake later such a course of training if they had shown themselves likely to make good teachers. It is estimated that if the cost of living is at all comparable with pre-war costs, the value of such scholarships need not be more than fifty pounds, on the assumption that the cost of instruction would be borne by the State.

It would also appear to be worthwhile to investigate the possibility of founding in Egypt and perhaps in this country, during the war, a training college for young Greek people aspiring to return to their native land as teachers, or to arrange special courses for them, under their own instructors, at some British training college or university training department.

Our Greek member suggests that a large extension of adult education will also be necessary, including both primary and secondary evening schools. The former, it is suggested, could be staffed voluntarily by pupils from the senior forms of secondary schools, and the latter by students from the universities and training colleges and, where these are not available, by teachers released in rotation for this work. Further, it is suggested that, to bring the people back into contact with the free world from which they have been cut off, very extensive schemes of popular education should be adopted; that all Greek intellectuals, poets, writers

and scientists would be anxious to give their services free or at a merely nominal fee, and that a British organizer who would advise on administration could be of some assistance.

The valor of Greek soldiers and the service of her sailors in the cause of the United Nations will not go unrequited; but her intellectuals have been no less valiant in their fight. Both the Universities of Athens and Salonika have now been closed and many professors and students have been murdered as hostages, but the flame of Greece burns brightly and her students still defy the enemy machine guns to hold their patriotic demonstrations in the streets.

We are greatly impressed by the spirit in which our friends from Greece are prepared to tackle all the problems of educational reconstruction in their own country after the war; but clearly it will be an immense burden to repair all that can be repaired of the damage inflicted by all three invaders—Germans, Bulgarians and Italians—a burden that Greece ought not to be left to bear alone.

Greece, like all other territories, has been plundered, valuable manuscripts from Mount Athos and other monasteries, antique marbles, coins and much besides have all been carted away. In the schools deliberate attempts are made to corrupt the morals as well as the morale of her youth, and famine overshadowing all its other trials will inflict upon this generation scars that can never be completely healed.

LUXEMBOURG

No material damage has been suffered by the schools, but Luxembourg parents are faced with a concentrated effort to wean the loyalty of their children and to train them as members of the Nazi Reich. All schooling is subordinated to activities of the Hitler Youth. All the youth associations, including the Scouts and Guides, have been dissolved. All school children must take part in all the demonstrations and activities of the Nazi party, including the Labor Service, which are sometimes carried out under con-

ditions of physical and moral slavery. Several high schools have been closed. The great Episcopal Seminary has been transferred to Trier. All headships in secondary schools, with one exception, have been filled by German officials. The only Luxembourg headmaster is a notorious traitor. The teaching of French has been forbidden in the elementary schools and greatly curtailed in the secondary schools. Some subjects have been completely eliminated from the curricula, leaving German, arithmetic, mathematics, some elementary geography and history (on National Socialist lines). The rest of the time is supposed to be devoted to community singing, school expeditions and physical culture, with the result that the standard of education has fallen very sharply. Only those who give proof that they are whole-hearted supporters of the Nazi regime are allowed to proceed to university courses, and then only to universities in Germany chosen for them by the German authorities.

However, the loyalty of the young people of Luxembourg has not been broken or sapped. When the calling-up of four classes of young men for German military service and the total annexation of the Grand Duchy were proclaimed, young people played their full part in a general strike. Teachers were among those shot by the Germans in reprisal, and at Esch-Alzette, 105 boys of the Industrial School and sixty young high school girls were arrested for joining the strike or demonstrating in the streets and have been deported to Germany.

THE NETHERLANDS

No university buildings, colleges or schools will need to be rebuilt in Holland—unless, of course, there is further destruction. And the treatment of education by the Nazis has been mild, compared with their behavior in other countries. Nevertheless, the State University of Leyden, the oldest and most famous of the Dutch Universities, has been closed. Professors from all the universities have been imprisoned or sent to concentration camps.

In the schools the textbooks, especially of history, have been revised in order to eliminate anything to which the Nazis took objection, and there is a gradual introduction of Nazi teachers, but the spirit of young people remains true. Indeed the Dutch Nazis have recently complained of the meager support they receive from the younger people and have attributed this to the much too democratic educational system that existed in Holland.

We have no information about the situation in the Dutch East Indies.

N O R W A Y

Military operations in Norway have not, so far, involved the destruction of many schools or other educational institutions, and the damage that has been caused should not be beyond the resources of Norway to repair. And while public and private property has been stolen and wantonly destroyed—German officers are known to have used valuable books as fuel—there does not appear to have been much looting of the universities, public libraries, etc. But a good deal of uneasiness is felt about endowments for scholarships and public funds for research. This is a problem that may concern many occupied countries, and lists should be prepared showing how such capital was invested before the war. This is of special importance to countries like Norway and Denmark, where so much research work is normally financed by public funds, established through private munificence, or by grants from the State or certain municipalities (e.g., in Norway the Nansen funds of nearly seven million kroner; the Michelsen Institute, five and a half million kroner, and the Institute of Comparative Research in Human Culture, two to three million kroner; and in Denmark the Carlsberg fund of nearly one hundred million kroner).

The destruction in Central and Southeastern Europe has been so great that it will take some time to recover. The disastrous fall in educational standards in Germany will make itself felt increasingly after the war. It is therefore mainly in Western and North-

ern Europe that any serious research work is likely to be possible in Europe for some years. For this reason it is all the more important that, to avoid waste of time and money, plans should be ready for preventing if possible the theft of educational and research endowments, or for speedy restoration, and also for meeting the problems created by the revaluation of capital caused by inflation.

Although no educational institutions have been formally closed down in Norway, their work has been constantly interrupted, especially during the last year. In the summer the Germans began to requisition school buildings for troop barracks and hostels on a very large scale, and one girls' school had, for example, to be spread out over no fewer than 55 small private houses! University work has been somewhat less interrupted, but the students have felt obliged to boycott the lectures of Nazi professors. There has been some forcible revision of textbooks in the schools, but it is perhaps the loss of time that is the chief loss suffered by education. The moral gains have been tremendous.

It is no exaggeration to say that the magnificent fight waged by the teachers against Quisling's plans for a "Teachers' Front" aroused the whole of Norway: it hastened the final breach of the Norwegian Church with the Quisling regime; it made it impossible for Quisling to proceed to the formation of other "fronts"—a Labor Front, Peasant Front, Fishermen's Front, and so on—and so brought to nought all his dreams of a totalitarian sovereign State, allied to Germany in the war against Bolshevism. As the President of the Board of Education in Great Britain said in his message broadcast to the Norwegian teachers through the Norwegian Broadcasting Service on May 4th, 1942, *"The men and women of letters in this country admire you for your action, which made the name of teachers to be respected among all other professions as leaders of the people."*

The story is by now too well known for it to be necessary to reprint it here in detail. It is fully set out in the *Norwegian*

Survey of May 8th, 1942, issued by the Royal Norwegian Government Information Office. We would only draw attention to three aspects of the epic tale. First, the remarkable manifestation of faith in their democratic way of life that has led 12,000 out of Norway's 14,000 teachers to risk all—and, in spite of all, to endure until this day in their struggle against every attempt by Quisling and by the Reich Commissioner, Terboven, with all the terror of the Gestapo at his service, to force them to join a totalitarian front and to educate the children on Norway in *Nasjonal Samling* principles. Secondly, and no less remarkable, the bond between the teachers and the pupils who since the early days of the occupation have defied the regime, taking part in school strikes, flaunting patriotic emblems, suffering—indeed often seeking imprisonment; and publicly demonstrating in towns and villages their solidarity with the 1,300 teachers all over the country who were arrested and sent to concentration camps—5,000 of them later to be sent on the infamous S.S. Skjerstad to forced labor in the north. And, thirdly, the "Teachers' Declaration," read aloud by the teachers to their pupils on April 9th, 1942, in every Norwegian school open on that day. We believe it is a document of historic importance and an inspiration to teachers throughout the world now and for the future. The full text will be found in Appendix II of this report.

P O L A N D

In twenty years of regained liberty Poland recovered the ground lost in a century and a half of partition under foreign rule. At the outbreak of the present war there were no fewer than 1,659 nursery schools, 28,881 elementary and 789 secondary schools and, in addition, 2,085 vocational schools or courses, 641 continuation classes, and 28 universities and institutions of equivalent rank. All this has been destroyed.

In the territories incorporated in the Reich first religion and then education have been persecuted. Polish schools of every kind were closed, only German schools were allowed; everything that

was, however slightly, connected with or reminiscent of national culture was removed. All manuals, handbooks, Polish maps and other school equipment were destroyed, as well as school libraries. Deprived of all possibility of a Polish education, young children had to stay at home amid all the depressing circumstances of a brutal occupation. Polish education was for a time carried on secretly, but this was gradually stamped out by increasing terrorism. Teachers were deported, shot or sent to concentration camps.

In the so-called General Government, too, large numbers of Polish teachers were arrested, shot or sent to concentration camps, but a certain number of Polish elementary schools still exist. Their difficulties are immense. Reading books for beginners, books of excerpts from Polish literature, manuals of Polish history, geography books and maps have been confiscated. So, too, have all works in Polish or about Poland in the school libraries. The Germans insist that the chief instruction shall be in arithmetic, natural history and manual work; they keep a constant watch on the schools to insure that no patriotic influence is exerted by the teachers. There is a great shortage of staff. School buildings are constantly being commandeered by the Germans for other purposes. No school buildings are heated even in the coldest weather. Some of the Warsaw schools, obliged to work in shift system, can only provide for each set of pupils two hours of instruction a day.

Polish secondary education no longer exists. Of the 789 secondary schools, those buildings that remained after the bombardments were mainly requisitioned by the army, while a few were used for German schools or—in the eastern territories—Ukrainian and Lithuanian schools.

Vocational schools, where they are allowed to remain open, have had to give up all academic work and general education, and all advanced technical courses. Only a few are allowed to give more than the most elementary mechanical training. All equipment has been carried away or destroyed.

Universities and other institutions for higher education were

closed at the moment of the occupation and have not re-opened. Whole groups of professors have been sent to concentration camps. One hundred are known to have died as a result of enemy action in the first two years of occupation.

Polish libraries were wrecked in the bombardment, others have been deliberately pillaged or destroyed, still others have been ruined through negligence in transporting their contents to Germany.

Museums have met with the same lot. In the General Government they have been closed, and for the most part robbed by way of "legal" confiscation or simply pilfered. Anything the Germans could by any stretch of the imagination attribute to German culture was confiscated and sent to Germany; everything else was confiscated and destroyed. Private collections suffered a similar fate and many of their contents have been stolen by German officers.

Scientific societies and institutions have been dissolved and their property ruined or confiscated. Laboratories have been destroyed—sometimes by experts sent from Germany for this purpose.

The result is that the losses so far incurred and the damage inflicted will make the restoration of Polish education an exceedingly difficult task. So many school buildings, laboratories and libraries have been totally destroyed—especially in Warsaw—that their full reconstruction within any reasonable period of time will be practically impossible without the help of other countries.

It is estimated that as many as 50,000 persons in the educational services have been killed by the Germans, and the difficulties of replacement will be great. Then there will be the problems of providing education for the boys and girls, amounting to many thousands, who have been deprived of it during the war; of rebuilding on a colossal scale not only the buildings totally destroyed but the many others that have been ruined by use as stores and barracks; and of a mass production of books, and especially of

textbooks of history, geography and Polish literature. It is estimated that to provide only two copies of each book per form it will be necessary to produce 1,000,000 copies of textbooks. Further, it will be necessary to reprint books destroyed in libraries and private houses, to restore laboratories, libraries and museums. And, first of all, provision must be made for the feeding, health and physical education of the children and young people who have suffered the privations of these days, while special arrangements must be made for hundreds, probably many thousands, of school children whose parents have been killed.

THE U. S. S. R.

No complete picture of the situation is available, but some material has been published in *The Molotov Notes on German Atrocities* (notes sent by M. Molotov to all Governments with which the U.S.S.R. had diplomatic relations on November 27th, 1941, and January 6th, 1942), and *The Third Molotov Note on German Atrocities* (April 27th, 1942), both published by H.M. Stationery Office. Further information is found from time to time in such publications as *Soviet War News*. They are a story of bestiality almost without parallel in the history of the world. In this sea of ruin, blood and frightfulness behind the German lines practically nothing can have been left of education or of Russian learning or culture. But everywhere the spirit of the Russian people rises triumphant, teachers and students take their places in the armies and guerilla bands, small children seem to know no fear of death if they can serve their country.

Some idea of the conditions created may be inferred from such passages as these from the *Molotov Notes*:

"The irreplaceable relics connected with the life-long work of Tolstoy, all his manuscripts, books and pictures, were either stolen by the German soldiers or thrown away and destroyed. One of the staff of the museum requested a German officer, Schwarz, to cease heating the place with the personal furniture and books

of the great writer, but to use firewood for the purpose. Schwarz said, 'We don't want firewood, we shall burn everything connected with the name of your Tolstoy.' "

"When the invaders destroyed the Korelenko Library in Kharkov they paved the dirty roads with books from the library 'to facilitate the passage of German automobiles.' "

"During the occupation of the town of Istra, the German troops made an ammunition dump of the famous ancient New Jerusalem Monastery . . . one of the outstanding historical and religious monuments of the Russian people."

"On the very first day of occupation the Fascist monsters drove into the fields 200 schoolboys and schoolgirls who had come to the village to help collect the harvest, surrounded them, and brutally shot them down. They took a large group of schoolgirls back to the rear 'for the gentlemen officers.' "

"The local German commandant's office in Kerch ordered the parents to send their children to school, and in compliance with the order 245 children with exercise books in their hands set off to take their places in class. None of these children returned home. After the liberation of the town, the bodies of these 245 children were found in a deep ditch five miles from the town. They had been shot by the invaders. Documents and photographs relating to this monstrous crime are in the possession of the Soviet Government."

"The extent of the destruction by the Nazi incendiaries is seen from the following data, taken from many such instances: In 23 regions of the Moscow region occupied by the Germans, they completely destroyed 537 villages, partly destroyed 928, completely destroyed 38,423 dwelling houses in villages and 5,140 dwelling houses in towns, 947 schools (out of 1,220 existing schools), 159 hospitals, 54 kindergartens and crèches. . . . In 25 districts of the Tula region the German army during their occupation completely burned down 316 villages, 16,164 peasant houses, 299 schools."

There are many other examples of the way in which the Nazi

armies have acted on the clear instigation to acts of vandalism contained in a notorious "Order of the Day" of Field Marshal von Reichenau: "No historic or artistic treasures in the east are of any importance."

YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslavia has to suffer the depravations of four invaders: Germans, Italians, Hungarians and Bulgarians. Before the war the elementary schools had the task of "bringing up and educating children in a spirit of national unity and religious toleration and making them loyal and active members of the State and of society." How well they succeeded was well manifested when student demonstrations led the way for the overthrow of the regime and the renouncing of the pact with Germany, saving the soul of the country at the cost of a bloody struggle in which they are taking their full part.

As soon as Yugoslavia was occupied and dismembered the only virtue of education in the eyes of the invaders was as an instrument of disunity.

In the so-called Croat Independent State, Pavelic and his followers have made great efforts to Nazify all young people. In most parts, Serbs and Jews are forbidden any education. Such few Serbian schools as are left in Moravia and Herzegovina have to carry on with very few teachers, because "teachers and professors appointed by Belgrade have been compelled to leave their posts for political reasons." Many patriotic teachers and educational officers have been shot by the Ustashi, put in concentration camps or driven from the country.

In Slovenia, after it was partitioned between Germany and Italy, there were mass deportations and the Germans in Southern Styria abolished all Slovene schools, while the Italians dissolved all students' organizations, including the Sokol. According to latest information, out of 4,421 teachers, 360 have been deported to Serbia, 800 have fled from Nazi brutality, while large numbers

of those who were left have been flung into concentration camps for refusing to accept Nazi or Fascist rule. The situation is worsened by the frontier between Germany and Italy which prevents Slovene students attending the University of Ljubljana, now annexed to Italy. Many Slovene students have been shot, and, according to one source of information, over 10,000 boys and girls have been deported to Germany.

In Serbia the worst rage of the Germans has been concentrated, for here, according to the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Serbian youth still live "in the tradition of the legendary past." Many teachers and professors are fighting in the ranks of General Mihajlovic or are prisoners of war. Hundreds of them have been killed. According to early information, in 1941 over 500 Serbian students, including some girls, were shot for alleged conspiracies, sabotage, and helping the chetniks. One of the most brutal acts of German repression occurred in Kragujevac in October, 1941, when all the boys and girls, with their teachers, from the sixth, seventh and eighth forms of the town's secondary schools were butchered by machine gun fire. Such atrocities have been justified by Germans on the grounds that "Serbian students were and are still the leaders of destructive elements." (*Wiener Tageblatt*, December 7th, 1941.)

Under the Hungarians there has been no less brutality. Many Serbian teachers and students were hanged at Pancevo last year, together with "other rebels." In Subotica "numberless students and school children were rounded up and at once shot in front of the Grammar School" (official statement of the Yugoslav Government, May, 1942). As Cardinal Hinsley said in a speech last December, "The Hungarians aim at the destruction of every form of Yugoslav culture in the school, in civil life, in the Church."

Under the Bulgarians in Southern Serbia, all Serbian teachers have been driven out of the country or have fled to central Serbia. The Bulgarian language is the only language permitted and it alone is used in the schools.

In this tragic condition it is clear, although all exact evidence is lacking to us, that such education as is left in Yugoslavia will be of the most pitiable kind. Immense problems of rebuilding, staffing and the provision of books will have to be solved at the end of the war.

THE FAR EAST

We have left until last the position in the Far East, where Japan, not Germany and her European satellites, is the chief enemy, and where, long before the European end of the Axis entered the war, the Japanese had set an example of barbarism hard to equal even in the annals of Nazi crimes.

In 1937, the University of Nankai, one of the most beautiful of Chinese Universities, was entirely destroyed by the Japanese within the first month of their aggressive war on China. The students of this University had led many demonstrations against the claims of the Japanese militarists, and on many occasions had paid for their resistance with their lives. So on July 29th the buildings were bombed and shelled—long after they were evacuated by the Chinese—until nothing but rubble was left. The University of Shanghai was shelled and closed, and the Tsing Hua University in Peiping was used as a barracks or military hospital. According to recent arrivals in Chungking, “the auditorium, in which many of the chairs had been smashed by the Japanese, is being used as a meeting place for the troops. The library is devoid of its treasures and most of the foreign books were carted away and shipped to Japan, while another portion, together with the most valuable Chinese volumes, was transferred to the puppet Peiping University. Chinese periodicals published during recent years were all put on a bonfire. The office of the librarian has been turned into a guest room and the reading room into a dining hall. The eastern half of the biological laboratory is a stable, while the classroom attached to it is a bar. The building of the Chemistry Department was most heavily damaged. All the equipment of the Engineering Department is being used in the enemy’s work-

shop at Hankow. The new southern residential quarters have become Japanese brothels."

In all, in the first year of the war, twenty universities and colleges were destroyed or occupied by the Japanese. It is scarcely surprising that the Japanese should have shown such great hatred for the Universities and Colleges of China, for the students of China have been the leaders of her regeneration, breaking down illiteracy, building up a sense of national unity, working and fighting to make their country happy and free. During the war many of the universities have migrated to Free China and there they are still training in the same spirit young men and women who will be leaders in the vast task of reconstruction after the war. Altogether twenty-five out of China's 108 institutions of higher learning have been forced to suspend work; fourteen were completely razed, fifteen seriously damaged through aerial bombardment. Even now the bombing of colleges continues.

Throughout the occupied regions the Japanese have tried to reorganize education as a means of pro-Japanese propaganda. Local Bureaus of education have been set up with Japanese "advisers" in control. The teaching of the Japanese language is, in principle, compulsory in all schools and is supposed to be taught by a Japanese, who is also made responsible for the "thought and morals" of the pupils. Textbooks have been rewritten to bring them into line with Japanese views on history, politics, international relations—and "virtue." The pupils are constantly obliged to attend parades and mass meetings. Much emphasis has been placed on the re-education of teachers in short-term normal schools, some of which are obliged to pay their students for attending! Since December 7th, 1941, most foreign mission schools have been closed.

With a mixture of bribery and brutality, educators are offered free trips to Japan and Manchukuo to study Japanese educational methods while at the same time arrests and torture of students and teachers are widespread.

We have it on good authority that after the war about ninety universities and technical institutions, 1,000 secondary schools, 100,000 primary schools and 3,000 public libraries and other academic institutions will have to be repaired extensively, although, since many educational institutions now have their headquarters in Free China, only about one-half may need to be repaired or rebuilt immediately at the end of the war. About ten per cent will have to be rebuilt entirely. The most urgent need in Chinese schools after the war will be for scientific equipment and technical textbooks, and it is to be hoped that other countries will help to supply these.

OTHER AREAS

In the Philippine Islands only the elementary schools have been reopened, and then only in the big towns, where they can be kept under strict surveillance by the Japanese. The Japanese language has been officially substituted for English, which is no longer taught. The University Library at Manila was purged and all books deemed inimical to their so-called new order were burned by the Japanese.

We have no evidence of the position in Burma, Malay, and British or other Allied possessions in the Pacific or—very much nearer home—in the Channel Isles.

RECOMMENDATIONS

This brief survey has been justified if it has recalled to your minds the magnificent resistance of the schools and the magnitude of the tasks of reconstruction—in our opinion far beyond all possibilities of private charity and endowment and, in each of the most seriously devastated countries, a burden far greater than it should be left to bear alone. Just as the universities and schools have been the spearhead of resistance, so we believe they must be one of the main foundations of a new and better order, and for that reason we plead that the work of educational reconstruction must be a

combined effort of all the United Nations and one of their first tasks when hostilities have ceased. We propose:

(1) That Governments be asked to recognize that the urgent tasks of educational reconstruction in the occupied countries, as soon as they have been set free, must be one of the chief responsibilities of the United Nations, and

(2) That for this reason, a United Nations Bureau for Educational Reconstruction should be appointed now to prepare, and so far as possible put into operation, the necessary plans for meeting those needs which are too great for any one nation to bear alone.

(3) That the costs of educational reconstruction, over and above such reparation of damages inflicted as may be charged to enemy States, should be borne by the United Nations and that, in proportion to their size and wealth, the principal burden should be borne by those States that have suffered least material damage.

(4) That priorities in the provision of educational material and assistance should be carefully considered and due regard paid to those countries that have suffered most.

(5) That the United Nations should demand the restoration of all educational and scientific books, material and equipment, and all cultural treasures removed by the enemy—both States and individuals—from the countries they have occupied.

(6) That where such property has been destroyed, or for any other reasons cannot be restored, it should be replaced by some equivalent, and that such replacement should be kept entirely apart from questions of war indemnities.

(7) That a clear warning should be issued by the United Nations that no enforced transfer of educational or other investments from the occupied countries, whether to enemy States or to neutral countries, will be recognized; and that the Bureau of Educational Reconstruction should be charged with the restoration of endowment funds, such as endowments for scholarships and for research

work, which have been lost in the course of the war or as the result of currency depreciation.

(8) That, for the training of new scientific workers and university and higher teaching personnel, a sufficient fund should be provided for the establishment of scholarships open to students in their own countries or, where necessary, abroad. And that, in the awarding of such scholarships, due regard be paid to those who stayed behind in their own countries and suffered the terrors and hardships of the occupation.

(9) That, as soon as possible after the cessation of hostilities, England and America and the other democratic countries that have escaped invasion should offer hospitality to large numbers of those children and young people from the occupied countries who will be in urgent need of more peaceful conditions, rest and food for the restoration of their bodily and mental welfare; and assist as far as possible in establishing and provisioning vacation colonies, school camps, convalescent homes, orphanages, etc., in those countries themselves. Among others large numbers of Jewish children have been separated from their parents and homes. Many of them will be destitute and those who came from Germany will never be able to return. Their needs will call for special attention.

(10) That our Commission should inquire from the Allied Governments and consider with great social, philanthropic, medical and other associations the part which voluntary organizations and private individuals could best play in assisting the restoration of educational, cultural and scientific life in those countries that have suffered most in the course of the struggle.

(11) That special attention be drawn to the deplorable shortage of teachers that will exist in greater or lesser degree in all the liberated countries and to the plans that some of the Allied Governments are already making to meet this difficulty by training teachers during the war or by special, short, intensive courses for new entrants to the profession at the end of the war.

Among the many matters that it would be essential for the United Nations Bureau of Educational Reconstruction to consider are:

The Provision of School Books and Equipment: What is the minimum required to restart work immediately? Which will be the more practicable, having regard to local resources and to shipping space, to print books in England or America for transport or to send printing presses (where required) and paper so that the books may be printed in the liberated country? The writing of the necessary books now or the selection of pre-war books to be revised and reissued. The reservation of the necessary shipping space in consultation with the other inter-allied bureaus concerned with this matter.

The Provision of Buildings and Building Material: In this connection it has been suggested to us that prefabricated buildings might be prepared and that, if made of plastic material, they would be more hygienic and therefore of considerable advantage in some of the regions likely to be left in the worst sanitary conditions as a result of the war.

The Provision of Teachers: We have noted the schemes adopted by some of the Allied Governments for the training of doctors, scientists, social welfare workers and others during the war and think that similar schemes for the training of teachers should be urgently considered. Among other suggestions made to us we might mention the following: (a) that teachers of Polish origin in the United States might be recruited to work as teachers in Poland for a period of years after the war provided they have a good knowledge of the Polish language; that similar arrangements might be made in the case of other countries; (b) that in countries where the shortage of teachers will be greatest men now in their armed forces in this country might be given some opportunity to equip themselves for the work of teaching and be offered short intensive courses of training immediately at the end of the war, or even during the war if military circumstances permit; (c)

that after the war some of the great establishments of the Empire Air Training Scheme in Canada might be used for the rapid training of teachers in really large numbers from all the United Nations where the number of teachers has to be rapidly expanded.

Inquiries might be made as to the teachers of English that will be required where courses of English have been suspended and the teachers have disappeared, and this matter would be all the more urgent if agreement should be reached—on the lines proposed by a majority of us later in our report—for the adoption of English as an auxiliary means of communication to be taught in the schools of all countries, at least of Europe.

Chapter II

Re-education in Enemy Countries

We have heard evidence and considered memoranda on the history, the more recent organization, aims and content—and the appalling results—of education in the universities, colleges and schools, the youth movements, and other educational agencies in Germany, Italy and Japan. It is our intention to make similar studies of education and of the problems of re-education in Bulgaria and other enemy states, but in the time so far at our disposal we have thought it best to devote our attention principally to Germany wherein we recognize to be, in Europe, the chief of all our problems. We believe, however, that in presenting our proposals for the reorganization and reorientation of education in Germany, and for the re-education of the German people, we advocate certain general principles that could with advantage be applied, in greater or lesser degree, in all the enemy countries which we hope to make the subject of later reports.

The unanimous recommendations of the Commission with regard to Germany are set out below:

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Unless the Nazi system is extirpated, and unless the traditional militarism dominant in Germany and its supporting elements are overthrown, there is no hope for a peaceful Europe. We believe that the first essential condition of the re-education of Germany is that the whole Nazi organization should be destroyed, that the power of the German army should be broken, that justice should

be meted out to the war criminals, that the fullest possible restoration of stolen property should be carried out, and that the reality of defeat should be made manifest to all the German people so that they shall learn that aggression does not pay and shall place upon their present leaders inescapable responsibility for the just fate that overtakes them.

While it is not our business to consider the exact terms that should be laid upon Germany as a condition for ending hostilities against her, we are nevertheless agreed that no fundamental re-education of the German people can be achieved if the peace imposed upon them is one of such vengeance that they would be placed in a position of permanent inferiority. We take note of the assurances that have been given that it is the intention of the United Nations to secure for the German people, as for all other peoples, the material benefits of the Atlantic Charter and that they look forward to the ultimate inclusion of a free and peaceful Germany in a general system of co-operation.

For the attainment of this object we believe the re-education of Germany and the moral and spiritual regeneration of her people to be of no less importance than their physical disarmament. The Allied Governments have pledged themselves to secure this, and we commend the following proposals to the earnest consideration of all who are in a position of responsibility.

APPOINTMENT OF A HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR EDUCATION

Education must be regarded as one of the surest foundations of peace and, for the advancement of education and the cultivation of a right attitude of mind in all countries, we look toward the formation of an International Organization for Education with wider representation and much greater powers than the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation. Before Germany, however, can co-operate in such an enterprise the German people must first be re-educated and, in our view, they must re-educate themselves. No one else can bring about that change of feeling

and of purpose that alone can enable them to become loyal and trusted members of the community of nations. Certainly such a spiritual change cannot be dictated by conquering powers, but they can and should do whatever may be possible to create the conditions in which the re-education of the mind and character of the German people may be most likely to succeed.

For a period Germany is likely to be directly administered by occupying powers and they should, in our opinion, exercise their control of education through a High Commissioner for Education,* who should be chosen in advance and ready to start work at the moment the occupation begins. His purpose should be to eradicate the Nazi and militarist influences in education and to inspire, to facilitate and to supervise measures by the German people for their own re-education.

As the High Commissioner could only exercise his powers and perform his duties during the occupation of Germany, we hope that the occupation will not end until the High Commissioner is satisfied that his work can be taken over by the Germans.

GENERAL FUNCTIONS

Among the immediate measures taken to exterminate the Nazi system should be the dissolution of the Hitler Youth, the closure of the Nazi Party Schools and a scrutiny of all teachers and administrative staffs in the Ministry of Education, universities, colleges, schools and other educational institutions. For notorious Nazis occupying key positions in the educational system dismissal should be absolute.† The rest should be engaged on a temporary basis of probation, pending investigation into their past record and,

*Similar responsibilities for Education will have to be undertaken by the United Nations in any other enemy countries they may occupy and, in our view, it is desirable that in each case these responsibilities should be exercised through a High Commissioner—or possibly in certain cases an Adviser—for Education.

†In this connection it is not irrelevant to note in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of May 31, 1939, that according to the estimate of a German official 45 per cent of the entire teaching staff of the universities and technical colleges was replaced between 1933 and 1939. Moreover, it is known that in 1933 special committees examined the political records of 160,000 school teachers, and that large numbers of them were dismissed.

more especially, the manner in which they continue to exercise the responsibilities temporarily entrusted to them.

The High Commissioner should order such measures immediately he assumes office unless they have already been taken by the German people themselves.

If, as would seem to be highly probable, there is widespread chaos in Germany at the end of the war, then one of the first responsibilities of the High Commissioner should be to make the best arrangements he can for as much education as possible to be carried on. This may well have to include co-operation with the proper authorities to ensure the provision of food, clothing and shelter for school children, teachers and students. In this period the work of the High Commissioner would be largely a matter of improvisation. He would have to accept the assistance of such German teachers and administrators as had been retained in their posts and were willing to collaborate with him, but in this initial work he might well have an opportunity to discover men and women in Germany who would later be of the utmost assistance to him in carrying through a more fundamental reorganization of the educational system.

The High Commissioner should be assisted by a Commission whose members would be chosen from the allied or neutral countries. They should at the earliest opportunity conduct a thorough examination of the whole educational system in Germany and recommend what further measures should be taken in order to eradicate Nazi and militarist teaching and to provide that general framework of education in which the ideals of the Atlantic Charter are more likely to find support. In this connection they should, among other matters, report whether having regard to the general trends of public opinion in Germany, it is desirable that the High Commissioner should promote or discourage a return to greater decentralization, including a restoration or partial restoration of the position occupied by confessional schools in Germany before the Nazi regime.

The desirability of providing for equality of educational opportunity should be one of the guiding principles of the High Commissioner.

As the representative of the occupying powers, the High Commissioner would retain full responsibility and should not fail to issue such orders as might be found necessary to eradicate Nazi and militarist influence, including orders for the removal or appointment of German educational authorities, the dismissal of teachers, the suppression of certain school books, etc. But, to have any chance of lasting success, positive reform must not come as the dictation of foreign conquerors; it must be a movement supported or tolerated by German opinion.

Without relinquishing his right to issue orders and vetoes, the constant aim of that High Commissioner should be to encourage and assist in every possible way the foundation of properly constituted German educational authorities and organizations of teachers, who desire to give to education in Germany a humane and international purpose and through whom and with whom he could work to achieve this aim.

SELECTION OF TEACHERS

There is already a great shortage of teachers in Germany, which will be accentuated after the war. It may, however, be assumed that by no means all teachers or professors who have stayed on under Nazi rule were in sympathy with Nazi ideas.

The conditions of elementary school teachers in Germany have been very unsatisfactory. Indeed, it has been suggested to us that "most of them would give active support to any Government which guaranteed decent salaries, and freedom of association, removed their sense of inferiority by admitting trainees to secondary and, in suitable cases, university education and protected the school against external interference." If, with the encouragement and assistance of the High Commissioner for Education, these reforms can be carried through by a new regime in Germany

which desires peace and co-operation, it will probably meet with little opposition and a good deal of willing support from the teachers in the elementary schools.

It will in any case be inevitable to retain, of necessity, great numbers of existing teachers and of officials. Their work, however, like that of their colleagues, should at all times be open to inspection by the Commissioners as well as by the appropriate German authorities. Special attention should be given to teachers from those families that have always supported the militarist classes.

The High Commissioner should explore ways of making up the necessary numbers of teachers from old teachers of the Weimar period, from Germans who have lived long abroad and who are accustomed to democratic methods, from the ranks of the anti-Hitler movement, from teachers who have been expelled or have become refugees, and—for certain subjects—from nationals of other countries, especially Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries. Certain members of the Commission have suggested the possibility of the United Nations finding a number of men and women prepared to spend several years in Germany as teachers in order to help in the re-education of the German people.

As a temporary measure for meeting a part of the shortage of teachers, it might be arranged that some teachers should teach in one school in the morning and another in the afternoon. Different groups of children could also use the same building on a "staggered" system. Spare time resulting from such expedients could with profit be used for games and sports, for seeing films of an educational character, for radio lessons and lessons on special subjects, and for many voluntary activities organized by the boys and girls themselves. Such activities have been almost entirely lacking in Germany and could provide an invaluable training for democracy.

TEACHING MATERIAL IN THE SCHOOLS

Even the child's copybook can be used to teach the most pernicious doctrines and the simple first primer in arithmetic to prove that two British and two Russians do not equal four or, of course, one German. Certain subjects do not lend themselves so readily as others to the inculcation of political doctrines or the teaching of bogus sciences, but it will be necessary for the Commission to carry through a very thorough censorship over all books, maps, slides, films, pictures and other apparatus already in use, and new publications. After a time this work might be delegated to competent German educational authorities, but the commissioners should continue to examine all textbooks and other visual aids to teaching and to report upon them to the High Commissioner, who should retain the right of veto.

Some textbooks and other material will, of course, still be suitable for use in the schools and, in case of need, it may be necessary to tolerate the use of others for a time until they can be replaced. But from the very first purge carried out by the High Commissioners or the new German educational authorities themselves, there is bound to result a great shortage of books for use in the schools. To meet this need and until new books can be written in German, the High Commissioner might be well advised to arrange for the reprinting of some of the books in use under the Weimar Republic.

It might be worth while for German exiles during the war to prepare new textbooks, but such books would need careful examination before their adoption for use in Germany.

No less important than the actual textbooks are the school libraries. These must be purged of books glorifying Nazism, race and war; and we can think of few better fields for investment than the outlay of a considerable sum of money in stocking the libraries of German schools with the writings of some of the great thinkers and scientists both of Germany and of other countries, to which

inquiring German youth may turn in the period of disillusionment and bewilderment that will follow the breaking of the walls in which their minds are now imprisoned. Such books should include those which demonstrate the horrors and futility of war and provide a new inspiration for Germany's contribution to the building of a humane and co-operative world.

To help in bridging the intellectual gulf between Germany and the free world and to give to German youth a new purpose in life, the fullest possible use should be made of films of every kind (scientific, cultural, historical, geographical and even entertainment films) and radio lessons, talks and feature programs. Such aids may be particularly effective in the secondary schools. The High Commissioner might be well advised to set up a small technical bureau to work with the German school authorities in the development of such programs.

It would be a mistake to insist too exclusively on subjects which have a "modern" or utilitarian value. The traditional "humane" culture of Europe forms the most potent factor in European unity and the maintenance of that historical continuum which we call "Christian civilization." Indeed, the study of the history and literature of that Graeco-Roman civilization from which our own is derived serves already as a link between the more educated classes of different nations and might well be an inspiration toward greater unity.

THE UNIVERSITIES

The extreme nationalism of the professorial body was notorious, although some no doubt obeyed without question the wishes of the Government which appointed them. The High Commissioner should, however, ensure the removal of (a) all who gave active support to the Nazis or to racialism in any form before 1933, (b) all who have held high office under the Nazis as Rectors, *Dozentenführer* and the like, (c) all professors of *Rassenbiologie* and similar bogus sciences. He should scrutinize

carefully the credentials of all persons appointed to university posts since 1933.

Vacancies might be filled by similar means to those suggested for augmenting the number of school teachers, but tact would be essential in the reinstatement of emigré professors. Probably they should in general not return except by definite invitation from their university or the competent German body. Many will not wish to return.

The High Commissioner should maintain, through his Commissioners, a certain scrutiny of the universities and secure the removal of any teachers who are either a danger to European peace or intellectually incompetent. Nazi militarist student societies must be abolished.

We do not recommend any purging of the books; but it should be the concern of the High Commissioner to ensure the ample provision of books banned by the Nazis and of new books written from a non-Nazi and non-militarist conception of philosophy and economics. Great care will be needed to insure by courses of study and special textbooks the eradication of past teaching on racial matters.

It is desirable that admission to the universities should not be restricted to any one section of the community, and the High Commissioner should promote whatever measures may be desirable and practicable, whether by means of scholarships or otherwise, to make equally available for all classes such university education as can be provided in Germany after the war.

It seems quite possible that, instead of foreigners flocking to the German universities, as they did before 1914, in future many German students will have to seek competent university teaching abroad. In our opinion, such students who are fortunate enough to secure admission to the universities of Great Britain, America or other democratic countries could, on their return, bring an important reinforcement to the democratic elements in Germany,

especially important in the case of students entering the teaching profession.

NEW IDEAS IN EDUCATION

The collapse of the Nazi regime is likely to be followed by a period of great bewilderment, with widespread disillusionment and cynicism and many and, often, violent reactions against existing methods. The breakdown of rigid regimentation should be welcomed, in the schools no less than outside. The Commissioners might tactfully bring to the notice of German teachers methods that have been found useful in other countries. For example, greater freedom, self-discipline and responsibility for the pupils, as a training for democracy, might usefully be introduced.

Similarly the new German school authorities should be encouraged to promote much greater co-operation with parents; meetings of parents and teachers, lectures and radio talks should be arranged to explain to parents new aims of education and to win their interest and support.

We should be glad to see more attention paid in the schools to the social sciences.

YOUTH MOVEMENTS

The "Youth Movement" has, for several generations past, been exceedingly strong in Germany. The Free Youth Movement of Weimar days was largely a revolt by young people against militarism, materialism and the established order of society that held out so few opportunities for the employment of youth's creative and artistic faculties or for fulfilment of the urge for greater comradeship. On the whole, it had no positive policy for political or economic action, and many of its members were probably tricked by the pseudo socialistic window dressings of the Nazi program.

Be that as it may, the love of German youth for the comradeship of movements, for open-air activities and for the glamor of marching and songs, flags and processions was exploited to a very

remarkable degree by the Nazis, who have now regimented the whole German youth from the cradle to middle age in the organizations of the party. Through these the Nazis have to a great extent countered and, indeed, largely eliminated the influence of the home, the Church and other agencies. Every boy and girl is compelled to give to party work practically the whole of leisure time as well as a good many hours each week that would previously have been devoted to lessons. They have no training in the free and individual use of leisure time and, when the Hitler Jugend are disbanded—as they must be immediately at the end of the war—it will be very urgently necessary to substitute some other form of organized youth activity, if only to prevent the young people of Germany from turning to all sorts of mischievous and lawless activities and to save them from falling victims to the appeals of new political and militarist charlatans.

In our view, supervision of the organized leisure time activities of German youth should be made the responsibility of the High Commissioner for Education, who should seek to develop such activities as will provide a definite education of body, mind and character for the service of a high ideal of citizenship.

As in formal education, there will be rigid limits to what the High Commissioner can himself accomplish. He should forbid all organizations and manifestations of youth calculated to serve a militarist, narrowly nationalist or anti-social purpose. He should do all that he can to assist the formation and the success of other movements that will help the young people of Germany to substitute self-discipline for regimentation, and service to their people and to the world community for the training of a *Herrenvolk*. But the new movements, their leaders and the ideas that inspire them must be developed by the young people of Germany themselves, and cannot be imposed by the representatives of the conquering powers. Their main task will be to create the conditions in which new leaders with new ideas may emerge and hope to work successfully. Apart from that they can do little except by way of

tactful and friendly advice, and by making it possible for the youth of Germany to make contact once more with the free world outside, from which the German youth may perhaps themselves draw fresh ideas and strength. Ultimately we hope for the emergence of a new and democratic German state which will provide for all the youth of Germany full opportunities of self-development and service for humanity.

The period immediately following the end of hostilities will be the most difficult. Some of our own friends in the former free youth movements in Germany, exiles for many years, might be persuaded to go back and help. But, for the most part, the leaders of those days who have survived the persecution and the war will be too old to lead the youth of Germany again. The ranks of the Hitler Jugend are full of young people whose whole training has been in the Nazi creed; many of them at the end of the war may be completely disillusioned, but there must inevitably be a lapse of some time before a sufficient number of them have found a new purpose in life, a peace of mind and strength of character that will enable them to become leaders. Some few German boys and girls who have been educated during their exile in British or American schools might go back and succeed in winning the confidence and leadership of groups of young Germans.

For the most part, it will be necessary for the High Commissioner to improvise in this as in most other things. His main object should be to keep some form of youth organization in being, reducing its demands on the time of boys and girls, and combining practical service for the community with occupation for leisure hours, rather than a direct inculcation of new principles. If, as would appear probable, there has been great destruction in Germany and disease and even starvation are widespread at the end of the war, then the youth organizations could be used for urgent tasks of reconstruction, for clearing bombed sites, rebuilding, roadmaking, distributing food and fuel and clothing, nursing, cultivation and reforestation, etc. The experience gained by such

bodies as International Student Service in Germany after the last war and during the years of great depression should be called upon. And, in organizing such practical tasks as these, as well as games and sports and remedial physical exercises, it should be possible to use the services of suitable British and Allied personnel, military and civil, including volunteers from leaders of the Boy Scouts and other youth movements in the United Nations.

We would especially recommend that, in place of military training and "war games," every possible encouragement should be given, both in youth organizations and in the universities and schools, to games and sports and other projects that provide for chivalrous adventure: above all to those pursuits that develop character, the team spirit and consideration for other people, as well as physical fitness.

ADULT EDUCATION

Until now we have been concerned with the re-education of young people, boys and girls at school, students at the universities and members of the youth movements—scarcely any of whom have any experience or very much knowledge of anything outside Hitlerite Germany. What about the great mass of the German people? Here our problem is closely interwoven with political, economic and social policies, outside our own particular inquiry. All that we can do is offer a few tentative suggestions as to the kind of measures that might be promoted by the High Commissioner, on the broad assumption that in one way or another a new and peaceful order will gradually arise in Germany. The expediency of such measures and the degree to which they can be carried out at any particular time must depend upon the internal conditions of the country and the general policies pursued by the occupying powers.

Our report envisages a period during which Germany would be ruled by the occupying powers, for the Quislings have been utterly discredited and we cannot imagine that the United Na-

tions, having won the war, would copy the Germans by attempting to impose their own puppet government or governments on Germany. Neither should they attempt to force upon the German people "education" for any particular form of State. While the occupying powers enforce the physical disarmament of Germany and forbid the teaching and training of German youth in militarist and aggressively nationalist doctrines, the German people must work out their own salvation. The main purpose of the High Commissioner with regard to adult education should be to help the German people to bridge the gap between themselves and the great currents of thought in the free world so that they may find their own way back into the main stream of civilization.

We are fighting for freedom of thought and the right to free expression in the spoken and the written word, and when once the Nazis and all they stand for have been thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the German people by the defeat of Germany and the fact of occupation, we hope the German people themselves would have no further use for Nazi books and similar writings. There has been enough burning of books, and censorship is repugnant to us, but ~~we shall be dealing with~~ a very sick people, and exceptional measures will be necessary for a time. We believe, therefore, that it would be wise—and a rough measure of retribution—for the High Commissioner to arrange for all copies of *Mein Kampf* and other canonical writings of the Nazi party to be collected and pulped down for new paper to be used in reprinting books destroyed by the Nazis in the countries they have occupied. Moreover, we look forward to the day when the publication in any country of books and papers likely to stir up passions leading to war will be a criminal offense under international law and we therefore recommend that, in the meantime, the High Commissioner should exercise, upon his own responsibility, a right to veto the publication and circulation of such material.

In place of the books discarded or removed, it will be important to ensure—and as quickly as possible—that the Germans have

something else to read. The High Commissioner should therefore promote on a very large scale the republication of many books suppressed by the Nazis and the publication of translations of the books of other countries—books of every kind, especially books on political, social and economic questions representing many different schools of thought, scientific works and also literary essays and novels. There is likely to be a tremendous demand when once the barriers are overthrown. It would in our opinion be useful to arrange now for some German exiles who understand the mentality of their own people to prepare translations of certain books. Other German exiles might profitably be asked to write books now for publication in Germany after the war, but it would be wise, for practical reasons, to avoid any appearance of flooding Germany immediately after the war with books written by refugees.

Particular care must, of course, be taken to insure the publication of suitable books exposing the falsifications of history, the false race theories and the sham ethics and political philosophy that have been accepted by the masses as the latest results of science. If some Germans in exile would write frank accounts of what Germans are doing in the countries they are occupying, such books might have great value in Germany after the war. Better still would be similar books written, sincerely, by Germans who had themselves seen these things.

Because we wish to promote intellectual freedom we think it desirable that a certain measure of control should be exercised by the High Commissioner over the press—and especially the daily papers and weekly periodicals that exercise a mass influence over an unthinking public that reads little else. One of the indispensable measures in the eradication of the Nazi system will be the immediate confiscation of the whole of the Nazi press by the occupying powers. Many papers have been stolen by the Nazi party and these should as quickly as possible be returned, at least provisionally, to their rightful owners, provided such persons can fur-

nish the High Commissioner with satisfactory proofs that they have not themselves been active Nazis. Further, we recommend the appointment of a central body of control (e.g., *Presse Kammer*) in which the occupying powers should at first hold a majority of seats. Its business should be to prevent the press being used for any new anti-social or militarist campaign, to stop such agitations immediately—if necessary by advising the High Commissioner to suspend the offending paper or to deal with any vested interests behind it. We should look forward to the gradual transference of power to the representatives of the press in the *Presse Kammer* and to the emergence of a free and self-disciplined press. But during the transitional period the High Commissioner should not use his powers in order to suppress any point of view—only the beginnings of a definite campaign of an anti-social nature. Political controversy in the press would have a useful part to play in the political education of the German people.

For the same reasons we would like to see similar arrangements made for the control of broadcasting and of the film industry. Everything possible should be done to popularize films and broadcasts of many kinds from or about other countries. For great masses of the people this might do more than books to open up new and wider horizons.

We would like to see a vast extension of organized adult education undertaken, for example, by such bodies as the universities, the trade unions and educational and religious organizations—above all by bodies such as the Workers' Educational Association in Great Britain, which would help the harassed German worker to find fresh inspiration and strength of mind through the serious study of philosophy, history, economics and social institutions without at the same time trying to pump into him any one set of political doctrines. We cannot emphasize this too strongly. "Some people ask why we shouldn't indoctrinate for democracy, including an international democratic order. . . . They do not see that indoctrination and democracy are contradictions in terms."

When once the shock of defeat has released the minds of the German people from the spell of Nazi propaganda, then one of the main aims of education should be to compel them to think for themselves rather than to make them too facile converts to any new creed.

While we utter this emphatic warning against the indoctrination of any one social or political creed, we are nevertheless fully aware that, in every country where adult education in political and social studies has succeeded, the demand for such education by the people has been due, above all else, to a sense of purpose. They have demanded it because they have been conscious of social or political ideals which knowledge might help them to achieve. We believe therefore that, in Germany, the success of such measures as we propose will depend largely upon how far the United Nations—with their very different social and political systems—are nevertheless able to agree upon a body of political and social ideals which can provide the inspiration for the kind of education we advocate and to which the German people no less than others can subscribe.

The High Commissioner should do all he can to facilitate the organization of adult education classes all over the country, in the evenings and during week-ends, during the day for the unemployed and for longer periods at camps and hostels during the holidays. Many teachers would volunteer to lead such classes, and it would be easier to employ teachers and students returning from exile for this work among German workers than it might be to reintroduce them into the schools.

At the longer courses for picked students, carefully chosen teachers and workers from America, Russia, Great Britain and the other allied countries might be invited to lecture and to lead discussions.

As soon as conditions permit, we would like to see the creation of international people's high schools, such as those so well developed in Denmark, in which German workers could live and

study with others from democratic countries and from which they could return home to become teachers and organizers of adult education in Germany. Such high schools might, for example, be established in Sweden and Switzerland and, perhaps, in the United States of America; and might with advantage be connected with the International Labor Organization. Meanwhile, in the development of adult education centers in Germany, we trust that the High Commissioner would enlist the help which the International Labor Office, the World Association of Adult Education and the democratic organs of adult education in other countries should be able to provide from their long experience and from their former contacts in Germany.

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

We have consistently maintained that the occupying Powers and their High Commissioner for Education, if one is appointed, will for the most part be limited to a negative function. They can and must forbid education for dictatorship and war. The inevitable psychological reaction of the German people to the fact of occupation will make it impossible for the representatives of the occupying Powers themselves to re-educate the German people. That re-education must be self-education, but we have suggested various ways in which the High Commissioner might give practical assistance, exert some indirect influence and even now, during the war, in certain matters prepare for this work. Much more direct assistance might be accepted by the German people from voluntary organizations in the allied countries which in no way represented the Governments of those countries.

Here the utmost caution will be needed. By sending their representatives to Germany, educational, relief and philanthropic organizations might make a solid contribution to the work of re-education and give proofs of a desire for friendship and understanding which could help the German people to renounce their past and turn their eyes toward a better future in which they could

deserve the friendship and esteem of other nations. But great harm could be done by well-meaning sentimentalists who shut their eyes to the past and allowed the German people to think that the policy of occupation pursued by the United Nations was not supported by their peoples. It might be worth considering whether any medical, relief or education mission or the like—other than carefully selected Government missions—should be allowed admission to Germany for some time after the war unless its members had first worked in one of the regions devastated or brutally persecuted by Germany during the war.

When the academic independence of learned and scientific bodies has been restored, and trade unions, religious, social and educational organizations of one kind and another have been re-established in Germany and can be counted upon as useful and reliable factors in a new democracy, their position could be strengthened by admission or readmission into the appropriate international federations of voluntary societies. But here again great care should be taken. A certificate of the bona fides of any such organization might be issued by the occupying authorities, and such certification might possibly be made a condition of election.

Since such hopes as we have for the future of Germany must be based mainly upon the education of a new generation in reformed schools, we attach special importance to any help that the voluntary organizations might give in this field. Before the children can be given a fundamentally different education large numbers of teachers must be re-educated, and that process might be assisted by bringing the German teachers more rapidly than other sections of the community into renewed contact with teachers in other countries. The professional associations of teachers and other educational bodies could do much to help German teachers to learn from the educational experiences of other countries.

The recollection of German barbarities during the war may well make it impossible to admit any German organization to full international partnership for some years; but we understand that

certain educational organizations in Great Britain might be prepared to invite German teachers to meet British teachers very soon after the end of the war in order to try to win their confidence and support in further action to eradicate Nazism, Fascism and their supporting elements. We should welcome such an initiative if the British teachers chosen for such a meeting were sincere and plain speaking men and women who could be relied upon to make their position clear beyond all ambiguity.

If the voluntary societies are able to do more than render assistance to the liberated countries whose needs must come first, it is with and for the German children that they should above all direct their work. The children of Germany bear no responsibility for the war and, subject to the general considerations we have suggested regarding the type of voluntary worker who should be allowed into Germany in the immediate post-war years, we should be glad to see volunteers from the democratic countries going to Germany to help care for the German children after the war. Large numbers of these children will probably be in great need, and there will be ample work for doctors, nurses, psychologists, qualified teachers of remedial exercises, experienced club leaders and many others.

We believe that at the end of the war England and other democratic countries outside the continent of Europe will open their doors to children who have escaped the Nazi terror in the occupied territories and are in dire distress, so that they may find here that rest and rehabilitation which will enable them to go back as useful future citizens of their own countries. But as soon as the state of public opinion permits and suitable arrangements can be made for their reception, we believe that German children, too, should be welcomed in England and the other democratic countries, not for forced doses of indoctrination but as natural, normal visitors to the homes of the people and on longer visits to the schools so that they may be allowed to see for themselves what life is really like in these countries. They should be given the

opportunity to make real friendships with other children and so come to feel that they can be partners in building a better world. If such visits are possible before the end of the period of occupation, it will probably be desirable to arrange them through the voluntary organizations and not through the Board of Education or other departments of state.

When public opinion and other conditions permit, we should be glad to see German children in ever-increasing numbers taking part in international games and camps and conferences.

LOOKING FURTHER AHEAD

We do not attempt to prophesy the pace of events, how long the occupation of Germany will last or whether it would be possible or desirable, before the end of the period of occupation, to transfer to the International Organization for Education, which we hope to see established, the powers and responsibilities of the High Commissioner for Education. But at *some* stage, if progress is made, Germany must become a willing partner in educational work.

When that stage is reached, be it soon or in the very distant future, we would like to see German teachers in very large numbers taking the fullest possible advantage of the kind of educational opportunities to which we look forward elsewhere in this report (e.g., summer schools and vacation courses, travel abroad to study foreign schools and teaching methods, exchange holiday visits, and the interchange of duties for a year or so at a time). Then, too, we should hope to see German teachers once more collaborating with the teachers of other countries in removing from the history textbooks of each country any unbalanced view of history likely to give offense to any other country. We hope that German historians would collaborate in the writing of a great history of Europe (see the last section of Chapter III).

When this stage is reached we should like to see the boys and

girls and the students of Germany, in proportion to their numbers, flocking to international camps and games and conferences, making exchange holiday visits with other countries and visiting the schools and universities of other countries for longer periods of study abroad.

Most of this work has been done before; we look forward to the day when it can be done on a far bigger scale so that it may affect far greater numbers of young people. But this time, too, we should like to see plans carried through on a scale never yet contemplated for exchange visits between the common people of all countries, including Germany, schemes that the trade unions, chambers of commerce and voluntary associations might do much to promote with the financial assistance of the state.

CONCLUSION

We repeat that unless the Nazi system is extirpated and unless the traditional militarism dominant in Germany and its supporting elements are overthrown, there is no hope for a peaceful Europe. And until the 69,000,000 Germans in Central Europe can be re-educated as citizens of a democratic state, seeking to serve constructive purposes in a co-operative world, then the rest of Europe must stand forever armed in self-defense. The re-education of Germany is therefore one of the most fundamental of all the problems which will confront the United Nations and we hope that even now, during the war, there may be some in high office, Ministers of Education and others not directly absorbed in the paramount effort of fighting the war, who may be able to devote some thought to preparing for the very grave responsibility which will fall upon them.

Education in any country is conditioned by the whole life of the country and the major interests it pursues. Therefore, in the last analysis, the possibilities of re-education in Germany and the nature of that re-education will depend upon issues far outside

the scope of this report. The absolute power of the United Nations will give them a decisive influence on the development of internal conditions in Germany, and upon the policy they pursue toward Germany will depend the possibility of there emerging a new German state, with such social and economic conditions as will enable it to provide for all its people, without distinction of class or creed, a fuller and a happier life of peaceful development and service to the community and the world at large, than they have ever known before. Only in so far as the German people have grounds to hope for such a future will they be able to re-educate themselves as good citizens of Germany and of the world community.

Chapter III

Education As A Foundation For The Post-War System

As citizens of the United Nations, our first concern has been to consider the plans that should be made now to meet the tremendous needs for assistance that will be found after the war in all the countries where our enemies, in relentless war against the principles for which we stand, have destroyed the culture of ages, smashed the whole machinery of education and singled out for massacre or persecution professors, preachers, teachers and all who might be the spiritual and intellectual leaders of their people. Next we have considered the problem of how the re-education of our enemies is to be effected so that, ultimately, they may co-operate with us to free the world from the menace of further aggression.

The task of reconstructing the cultural, educational and scientific life of the devastated countries would, in itself, call for the combined efforts of the United Nations for a number of years; but we are concerned to ensure that this unity in action shall endure, for—in President Roosevelt's words—"it is useless to win a war unless it stays won."

All history points to the lesson of how easily a coalition forged to meet the challenge of a desperate enemy may drift asunder when once the victory has been won. War-weariness, a desire to be left alone and to forget, the immense problems of internal reconstruction that will command the attention of each nation in its own domestic affairs—all these will tend too quickly to dissolve

the bonds that at present unite us in a common purpose. We have also to remember that the vast masses of the people in each of the occupied countries have not shared our experience of a united war-time effort here in these islands. Greatly daring, a few of the most politically conscious of the people in many of the occupied countries have found the means to enter into secret contact with each other across the frontiers; many thousands of workers have been forcibly removed from one part of Europe to another and some of them have thus been brought together, under the vigilant eye of the Gestapo, as slaves of the New Order; but still, for the most part, each nation has been imprisoned separately. Their peoples endure untold privations. Half-starved and wracked with care, they are subjected to every cunning form of propaganda by enemies who exercise their wiles to sow distrust and rivalries between them and who would have them believe that they have been betrayed to their fate by feeble-hearted allies who are slow to take risks to aid them, and by many of their own people who have fled to refuge here and in America.

We, who know, cannot pay too high a tribute to the courage of the people in all the occupied lands, to their spirit of active resistance, and to the integrity with which they strive to reject all forms of propaganda, no less than to their physical endurance. But those experiences must leave some mark upon them and we must be careful not to overestimate the feelings of solidarity that will exist between them at the end of the war. And it will be they, the great masses of the people, who will chiefly determine the future of each of the liberated countries after the war.

We must also take into account the natural feelings of those who return from exile after the war. In their joy at returning to their own lands and their own people, it would be natural that some of them should recall all that was strangest abroad, their trials and discomforts — even the petty misunderstandings that were perhaps inevitable under war-time conditions.

On the other hand, those who return full of enthusiasm for the cause of the United Nations may find that their views are not readily acceptable to some of their compatriots who think they have had an easy time during the war compared with the sufferings endured by those who could not get away.

And what of the other United Nations that are still and will remain free? Remembering the years of disillusionment that followed the last war, we are bound to ask: Will the British people who have hazarded an Empire in war, and who may yet be called upon for still more bitter sacrifice of life before the war is won, be willing to accept their full share of the responsibility for maintaining the peace of the world, with all that this implies? Faced with immense tasks of readjusting their internal economy and external trade, weary of war, confronted with problems of constitutional development in India and other parts of the world, will the British Empire realize the over-riding importance of securing the peace that has been won, of maintaining the necessary forces for that purpose, and of devoting unceasing thought to the ever-changing problems of international affairs?

Will America, this time, remain a co-operating world power? Will her people have the understanding of the importance and complexity of international relations and the patience to exercise continuously the role of a major partner in helping to shape the course of affairs? Can the continued strength of the British Empire and of the United States of America, so essential for the maintenance of peace, be reconciled with the aspirations of the colonial peoples? Can the British Empire, the United States of America, China and the U.S.S.R. find a common purpose, so that the policies they pursue will bring greater unity and not disharmony and the possibilities of future war?

It does not follow that influences which prevented a fuller unity between the victors after the last war will necessarily operate to the same degree after this war. But we are bound to believe that unless some great purpose beyond the winning of the war can

animate the hearts and minds of men in all the United Nations, there is a very great danger that when once the urgent tasks of reconstruction have been completed, our countries may once more drift asunder, all our plans for destroying the power of our enemies to wage aggressive war and for the re-education of their people may come to nought and the world once more may drift to war.

We believe therefore that the peace of the world must ultimately depend upon the growth of an over-riding purpose that will embrace but be greater than all separate national interests, upon a spirit of solidarity, a sense of world citizenship and a positive desire "to seek first the welfare of the whole world-wide society of mankind." Moreover, it must be an ever-present active purpose, dominating the actions of everyday life. Today "there's a war on," and, with that thought, we willingly accept the minor inconveniences of life; but unless we knew in our hearts that there is also a war to *win*—and acted on the knowledge—there would be little chance of seeing victory. So too, after the war, we should not keep our ease for long if, with the thought that "there's a peace on," we sought each one of us our own personal ease or pleasure, without remembering all the time that there is a better world to build if we wish the peace to endure. To make the peace secure, to free the world from want and bring to life the high promises of the Atlantic Charter will call for the utmost effort from all men.

It is our aim in this concluding chapter to suggest how that spirit may best be inculcated in the rising generation so that their education may provide a sure foundation of the post-war system.

A MORAL PURPOSE

The crisis of our age is first of all a moral crisis. Our first concern must be to reawaken social consciousness and to substitute for the selfish pursuit of individual happiness a passion for social justice, a readiness at all times to subordinate the narrower inter-

ests, whether personal, family or national, to the pursuit of a greater common good. For such a way of life the teaching of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man is, for many of us, our chief source of strength. But we fully realize that others find their inspiration in other forms of religious or non-religious philosophical thought.

There are members of the Commission who hold strongly that all education should have a sound religious foundation. Others hold a different view. But, however we may differ in this, we all agree that all truly civilized men hold in common certain principles. They believe in the dignity of the human person and the oneness of the human family. These principles and the rules of conduct derived from them should be inculcated not only by the example of the daily practice of parents and teachers, but also in the form of either religious instruction or moral lessons, or both, according to country and school, for the organization of such teaching in every country must, in our view, be completely in the hands of the people of these countries.

ORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION

In the Atlantic Charter and other statements of the war aims of the United Nations there has been set before us a vast goal of social achievement which could require for its fulfilment the united efforts of all our peoples for at least a generation. But good intentions and the will to carry them out will not suffice to build "a better future for the world . . . which will afford assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want."

To provide prosperity after the immense impoverishment of war will require that every man shall be so educated that he may be able to make the fullest contribution of which he is capable. To build an ordered peaceful world men must have knowledge and, especially, the knowledge that they are members of one great community which they have the power to organize for peaceful

ends. We are therefore concerned both with the advancement of education generally and, in particular, with the promotion of education for world citizenship.

In our view, in order to achieve any such objectives as the Atlantic Charter sets before us, it will be necessary that every Government shall:

(a) Ensure free access—together with such maintenance grants as may be necessary—to all education, including the higher technical and university stages, for all who are capable of benefiting from it;

(b) Ensure for all teachers a period of training so arranged that they will make closer contacts with the lives of other people and so themselves gain a wider experience of life;

(c) Take whatever measures may be necessary to raise the status of the teacher to that of other great professions and to ensure that all teachers, irrespective of the age of their pupils or the type of school in which they are called upon to teach, shall enjoy equality of status.

Such a program will entail the raising of the school-leaving age in many countries and the provision of schools, including day continuation schools, and other educational facilities which might be beyond the means of some states. But as with individuals so with states: we are convinced that the world cannot afford to leave any state or any section of the citizens of any state deprived of the advantages of a fully developed system of education, without which they will be unable to make their full contribution to the enrichment of the world and may, moreover, more easily be made the tools of despotism and war-like policies. We therefore believe that the provision of the standard of educational facilities that is everywhere required in the general interests of the world, must be the joint responsibility of all the nations and that the International Organization for Education should be enabled to make grants in aid where such grants are required.

EDUCATION FOR WORLD CITIZENSHIP

Above all, if the better world of the future is to endure, its peoples must be educated in the spirit of co-operation and good faith, justice and mercy upon which it must be based; they must recognize their responsibilities as well as their rights, and the duty of defending the new order; they must know more than their forefathers about the characteristics, needs and problems of other parts of the world, and understand whatever institutions and machinery are devised for international government and co-operation. We therefore unanimously endorse the United Declaration adopted by the International Conference of Teachers, held under the auspices of the Council for Education in World Citizenship in August, 1942 (see Appendix II of this report). But we would emphasize that such training for world citizenship is not only a matter for the schools. The influence of parents and home life, of the churches and other agencies may, and often does, have a still larger share in moulding character. There should be the fullest possible understanding between them as to how each can best help.

In school much may be learned in occasional special lessons, given, for example, by visitors with great knowledge and experience of a wider world outside the school and country of the pupils. Most valuable work can be done by means of studies and practical activities voluntarily undertaken by the pupils themselves in their leisure time, in school societies and discussion groups. And for boys and girls in the senior forms of secondary schools it may often be desirable to arrange short courses providing a systematic introduction to the further study of politics, economics, government and public affairs. But for the great majority of boys and girls while still at school we do not advocate the introduction of any new "subject" into the curriculum.

We find ourselves in complete agreement with Dr. Walter Kotschnig when he writes:

"It hardly needs to be stressed that the simple addition of a course or two in 'international relations' or in 'world history' to the already heavily crowded curricula of the American public school or college is altogether inadequate for the purposes of effective international education. Nothing short of a new emphasis in the teaching of all subjects can achieve the desired results. Every major subject has something to offer toward an understanding of the modern world. Geography, a subject sorely neglected in the American public school, offers unique opportunities for the study of the distribution of raw materials, of international means of communication and similar elements relevant to an understanding of international relations. Foreign languages, taught beyond their mere mechanics, offer a valuable key to some of the imponderabilia in national character. Even arithmetic, by a judicious choice of examples and problems, can do much to further an international outlook. If the Nazis draw many of their examples from military aviation, if Communist Russia teaches percentages in terms of achievements obtained under her various Five-Year Plans, there is no reason why the American boy or girl should not learn percentages in figuring the financial contributions of the various member States to the League of Nations or the output of oil in the various parts of the world. Since mathematics comes with difficulty to many youngsters, they are not likely to forget these data! Social science courses will take on new significance if, going beyond the worn-out pattern of family, local community, State and Federal government, they bring out the place of such institutions as the International Labor Office in their attempts to improve standards of living throughout the world. A course in general science is not complete without bringing home the fact that present-day world-wide interdependence is largely the result of the inventive genius of the scientist. Teaching of this type, which breaks down the narrow departmentalization of learning, means the end of provincialism in thought. It will help us to see the world as a whole. Rather than to view individual

parts or aspects of it, the younger generation and adult students will learn to comprehend its general pattern both in time and space. They will not only learn to understand the international scene, but they will gain a better grasp of American problems, many of which reveal their true meaning only if seen in their international context."

Moreover, we find ourselves in like agreement with the views expressed by the national associations of local education authorities and of teachers in Great Britain in their 1927 "Declaration Concerning the Schools of Great Britain and the Peace of the World." For, as they too clearly saw, "the facts of international co-operation, while they form the culmination of modern history, will concern also geography and, indeed, have their bearing upon all school subjects each of which has its world aspect and each of which points to the unity of the human family." We agree with them that such instruction, properly given, may serve some of the chief purposes of education. Thus it may increase the architectural consistency of the curriculum and help to build up the coherent body of knowledge—the "single wide interest" on which strength of character largely depends. At the same time it can provide a strenuous intellectual discipline just because it links up so many other studies and leads to some consideration of those more abstract conceptions that lie below the surface and are usually more difficult—and more valuable—than the beginnings of disconnected subjects.

AUXILIARY MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

Furthermore, we believe it to be of the greatest importance that, so far as possible all the peoples, of Europe at least, should be able to speak a common tongue. We have taken note of the decline in the teaching of Latin which once served as a means of communication between all well-educated people in Europe and have also noted the position of French as the European "langue de culture" after the decline of Latin, and the increasing use of

English as an international language among citizens of the United Nations during the present war. We recommend that all Governments should (1) choose some auxiliary means of communication; (2) ensure that in at least all European countries, including Germany, it shall be adequately taught—quite apart from the study and teaching of languages—to all school children before they leave school.

We may mention that the majority of the non-British members of the Commission were in favor of the adoption of the English language as being the most suitable auxiliary means of communication. In view, however, of the complexity of the question due to linguistic as well as political reasons, the Commission proposes to continue the study of this problem and to postpone to a later date its final recommendation as to the choice of the auxiliary means of communication referred to above.

ADULT EDUCATION

Not until they have left school and begun to earn their own livelihood will many young people with a practical rather than academic bent begin to take a pride in learning their own skills and, moreover, for the first time begin to see themselves—through the work they do—as members of a closely knit society. Therefore, among the educational services to be provided for all who are capable of benefiting from them must be, in every State, a highly developed system of adult education. Such services must provide the worker with an opportunity to acquire greater skill in his own trade or craft so that he may contribute more to the common weal. But they must also provide opportunities for the study of the humane and other non-vocational subjects, such as history, economics, science, social questions and international affairs.

The Workers' Educational Association and University Extension classes in Great Britain, the People's High Schools in the Scandinavian countries, the magnificent work of adult education that has been undertaken voluntarily by the Students' Unions in

Norway—such schemes as these, most of which have their parallel movements, equally successful, in many countries, provide a rich variety of successful experience upon which to build. But we look to a vast extension of such schemes, of holiday courses with pay, of subsidized travel abroad for purposes of study, and of many other means, adequately subsidized by the State and, where necessary, assisted by the International Organization for Education.

We realize, however, that great numbers of the people will in all probability remain outside such schemes of organized study and we therefore desire to see in every country a movement for popular enlightenment that will seek to arouse their civic and international conscience and to make them more fully aware of the responsibilities of citizenship. In our view such popular enlightenment should be recognized as one of the functions of the Ministry of Education which, for this purpose, would make full use of films and plays, radio broadcasts, the press and illustrated brochures, and large-scale arrangements for exchange visits and subsidized travel. As part of the scheme it would be necessary to facilitate the circulation of suitable films between all countries and to promote the closest possible collaboration in the field of broadcasting.

THE UNIVERSITIES AND INSTITUTIONS OF EQUIVALENT STANDING

The Commission has exchanged representatives with the Committee of the British Association on Post-war University Education and, in the Committee's interim report, which has just been published, we note in particular and propose at a later stage of our work to examine carefully the following proposals which are concerned with the contribution that the universities could make to the many objects that we have in mind:

(a) That entry to the universities should, as a rule, be deferred until after a year of approved national or international service—a provision that we might wish to see applied also to

the teachers' training colleges where these exist apart from the universities;

(b) That candidates for admission to a university should be tested in their general knowledge and in the special knowledge required of entrants by each university department; and that an ever-widening group of universities should accept each other's tests of general knowledge, so that it would be easier for a pupil or students from one country to proceed to a university of another country within the group;

(c) That the award of entrance scholarships should depend, more than at present, upon a candidate's character;

(d) That freedom of thought and expression, indispensable in every university, should be guaranteed to all undergraduates in the discussion of world affairs;

(e) That every university should require its students to be able to make themselves understood, by speech and writing, in some one auxiliary means of communication;

(f) That graduate scholarships, sufficient to cover passage money and all other necessary expenses, should aid the exchange of students between one country and another;

(g) That the universities should take a greater part in the work of adult education.

We have also noted as a subject to be considered by our Commission, the proposals which the committee puts forward for counteracting "the tendency of university studies to split up into a growing number of separate specialisms . . . increasingly divorced from the life of the community," and for ensuring "that every undergraduate is faced by the need for working out a philosophy of life." It is in our view much to be desired that students of arts and theology should receive some introduction to the elements of scientific knowledge and some training in scientific methods of thinking, and that students of natural science should receive a similar introduction to philosophy and the social sciences.

We whole-heartedly welcome the recommendation of the

committee that there should be created an International Education Organization such as we ourselves propose, "as one of the organs of any post-war society of states (or other international authority)."

CO-OPERATION BETWEEN LEARNED SOCIETIES

We look to the resumption of the work of the International Committee on Intellectual Co-operation in promoting the fullest possible co-operation between universities and other academic bodies, research institutes and learned societies of all countries and, in the meantime, welcome the work undertaken by the Association of University Professors and Lecturers of Allied Countries in Great Britain to maintain such contacts as are possible between the United Nations during the war. We should be glad to see an inquiry undertaken into the probable advantages of arranging for the direct representation of such professional associations in the directing bodies of the intellectual co-operation organization after the war.

YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS

The development of a fine sense of social responsibility, the practice of international friendship through vast international jamborees and journeys abroad, and some instruction in international affairs, have been a marked feature of the Boy Scout and Girl Guide movements—everywhere suppressed by the Nazi-Fascist overlords. We hope to see a great restoration of these movements in the liberated countries after the war. We know that even now, in France for example, some troops keep together although officially banned and unable to wear uniform. When the day of liberation comes, Scouts and Guides in many countries should be able to play a very big part in many practical jobs of reconstruction. And, of course, there are a number of other youth organizations that also have an international membership, as well as innumerable other bodies confined to one nation, all of which

serve similar ideals. Each has its own particular contribution to make and we welcome the diversity of their methods, appealing to boys and girls of different types. We would most certainly recommend no regimented uniformity by the state or any other body. But we would plead for encouragement and assistance by the state and by the international authority for all such movements existing to train character, mind and body for a high ideal of social service and the responsibilities of citizenship in the local, national and world community. Camping sites and equipment for visiting guests from other countries, hostels for international gatherings, greatly reduced railway fares, the opportunities for leaders to exchange experiences on aims and methods; all of these could and should be provided by the state and international authority.

Moreover, in the great extension of educational facilities we desire to see in every country, it will be necessary to provide day-continuation schools, and these, in our view, should provide much more than merely intellectual training. They will, we hope, be the natural center for the leisure time activities of their students so that the work of most of the youth organizations could be built around them.

In the immediate post-war period the youth organizations, including for these purposes the various student bodies, will have a great part to play in rebuilding sound minds and sound bodies in stricken Europe and in breaking down the prison walls of the mind imposed by foreign conquerors, so that young people may once more come to know and understand each other across the frontiers. We propose to invite representatives of all these great associations to confer with us on this subject.

THE TEACHER

In the course of our report we have indicated in broad outline the measures that we believe to be indispensable if the men and women of tomorrow are to have a real chance to implement the high promises of the Atlantic Charter. They call for action which

will, we hope, be taken by farsighted statesmen in all countries, for the co-operation of many great bodies and, above all, for a response that we are confident will be fully forthcoming from the teachers themselves.

In the final analysis everything depends upon the parent and the teacher, and we are concerned in this report primarily with the teacher. We do not ask that any teacher should try to impart to his pupils any view of life in which he does not believe. The whole idea is repugnant to us, for the first qualification to be demanded of any teacher should be sincerity, and every teacher should be able to say to his pupils, as did the Norwegian teacher in the hour of trial: "I will never ask you to do anything I consider to be wrong, nor shall I teach you anything which in my opinion is not in accordance with the truth."

But we insist on two things. First, that all boys and girls, before they leave school, must be made familiar with a generally agreed body of facts* concerning the nature of the local, national and international community which they are about to enter as responsible citizens. And secondly, that they should be taught certain generally accepted principles of good life in that community. For such teaching to be fully effective, however, it is necessary that the teacher set an example of citizenship by taking a full part in the life of the community; his own attitude, expressing itself unconsciously throughout the day and every day, may well have a far more lasting influence on his pupils than any amount of direct instruction.

We propose at some future stage of our work to consider more thoroughly and from the experience that has been gained in each of the countries represented on the commission, the relation of the teacher to the community and the distinction that must be drawn between, on the one hand, the teaching of agreed facts

*We do not, of course, expect that all children should be made familiar with all these facts! But according to their age and experience they should be given a sufficient introduction, so that their interest may be aroused and they may be led to study the subject further for themselves after they leave school.

and the cultivation of a deep concern for citizenship—which we consider to be essential for the continued well-being of society, and—on the other hand—the use of the schools for the advancement of controversial policies, a practice we should no less emphatically deplore.

During the past quarter of a century the great associations of teachers have already succeeded in improving considerably the conditions of service in the profession; but the best of them have by no means limited their activities to questions of pay and status. They have been deeply concerned with the general extension of education and with research into the methods of teaching many subjects. They have themselves practiced world citizenship through their wide international contacts, through their great international federations and through their work in other voluntary organizations. And many of them have themselves done much to promote the teaching of world citizenship, by agreeing upon revisions of school textbooks, by co-operating with local authorities and Ministries of Education in matters connected with the teaching of the principles of international co-operation, and in many other ways. We look forward—especially in our proposals for an International Organization for Education—to an extension of such collaboration between representative bodies of teachers and the national and international authorities.

We believe that the great professional national and international associations of teachers will have a vital role to play in all the work to which we look forward in this report, and we propose to invite the British associations of teachers to take all practicable steps to lay the foundations for a renewed contact of the teachers' associations of all the United Nations as soon as circumstances permit.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR EDUCATION

We submit—

- (a) That the social objectives of the Atlantic Charter can be

achieved only if there is a general raising of educational standards;

(b) That such an educational advance must be a matter of international agreement and will require financial assistance for some of the poorer states;

(c) That only in so far as the rising generation can be educated for world citizenship will it be possible to maintain the solidarity of the United Nations and to ensure peace;

(d) That for these reasons it is urgently necessary that the United Nations should agree to establish as soon as may be practicable an International Organization for Education, and should forthwith undertake the necessary preparations for that act.*

In our view such an Organization should be one of the principal parts of any new international authority that may be created at the end of the war on a world scale or for any group of states. It should be able to draw upon the wisdom of Governments, education authorities, teachers, parents and students associations, each of which should be represented upon it, and thus be able to combine with the authority of the Governments the active participation of those upon whom will chiefly fall the task of carrying out its decisions.

Among its many other tasks the International Organization for Education would—

(a) Prepare international agreements upon minimum educational standards;

(b) Advise, inspect and report upon the carrying out of such agreements;

(c) Make financial grants in aid of educational expansion to states requiring such assistance;

*The International Organization for Education which we here recommend must not be confused with the temporary Bureau for Educational Reconstruction which we have suggested should be set up as soon as possible to prepare for the urgent tasks of immediate post-war reconstruction. Whether the permanent International Organization for Education should be designed to grow out of the temporary Bureau is one of the matters that should, in our opinion, now be considered by the Governments concerned.

(d) Provide a bureau of research and information on educational organization and methods;

(e) Recommend methods whereby the peoples of all countries can best be educated in the knowledge of international cooperation and the spirit of world citizenship, and prepare, inspect and report upon such international agreements as may be concluded for this purpose;

(f) Carry out on behalf of the member states such inquiries and such undertakings as they may agree upon for further advancement of education generally, and in particular of education for world citizenship.

Among the many proposals that should be investigated as soon as possible by an authority of this kind we would mention here only a few examples:

(1) The desirability or otherwise of prescribing set textbooks, of banning textbooks antagonistic to the principles of post-war civilization, the preparation by a group of eminent historians of a Great History—at least for Europe—from which the writers of school textbooks in all countries would willingly draw their material;

(2) Extension of the teaching of the social sciences, including the elements of anthropology as a preventive of racial prejudice;

(3) The promotion of holiday travel, exchange visits, periods of study abroad, etc., for teachers, pupils and students, and perhaps especially for students preparing to be teachers. And study tours for educational administrators;

(4) The establishment of one or more international universities and international institutes of education for picked men and women preparing to occupy educational positions of special responsibility in their own countries, an international academy of international studies for entrants to the higher ranks of the diplomatic and international services, summer schools on international affairs, and more specialized courses for journalists and members of other professions;

(5) The greater use of the radio and of the film, pictures, story books and similar visual aids in the promotion of international understanding;

(6) The establishment of a world radio news service;

(7) The granting of much greater assistance to youth movements by way of reduced rates of travel, arrangements for exchange visits, the provision of well-equipped international youth centers and camps, and the organization of a World Council of Youth Movements.

We hope to prepare a further report setting out in greater detail our proposals for the creation of an International Organization for Education to which we unanimously attach the greatest possible importance.

Chapter IV

Our Work

Hitherto we have been considering large issues of policy that must be decided by governments and we have ventured to offer certain suggestions as to the action that should, in our view, be taken. What about ourselves? Is there any contribution that we, as a private and entirely unofficial group of educationists from the various United Nations, can make to the promotion of such principles as we have enunciated? We believe there is.

It has been difficult to find the time to attend to the work of the Commission when all of us, without exception, are very fully employed on other tasks. And we frankly admit that it has sometimes been very difficult to concentrate our minds on such problems as, for example, the re-education of Germany after the war, when we have been depressed by war developments or—in the case of many of us—preoccupied with thoughts of our people at home in countries occupied by the enemy. Nevertheless we are all of us glad to have had this opportunity to work together; it is an experience we would not willingly have missed and one we would like others, in one form or another, to share.

Here in Great Britain during the war there are professors and teachers from nearly all the United Nations and in very large numbers from some. There are also many hundreds of schoolboys and schoolgirls temporarily exiled from their own lands. No less than five Polish, twenty Belgian, six French, two Czechoslovak, one Soviet and three Norwegian schools have been established and many other children from allied countries are attend-

ing British schools. Here, it seems to us, is a great opportunity to *begin the practice* of feeling that we really are United Nations.

LECTURES AND SUMMER SCHOOLS

Through the Council for Education in World Citizenship, the League of Nations Union, the Student Federation for International Co-operation and other bodies, many of us who come from other countries have already had the opportunity to lecture in university and training college clubs and societies and to adult audiences of many kinds. Also on the invitation of local education authorities and of the heads of schools, as well as through arrangements made by the Council, we have given many talks to boys and girls in British schools, as part of their school work in their clubs and societies associated with the Council, and have been able to help the Council to find other people of our own nationality who are able and competent to undertake such work. Others of us have taken part as members or speakers in the Council's Summer Schools or its International Conference of Teachers; and we welcomed the opportunity in the summer to find boys and girls from our own countries to attend the Council's Conference at Sherborne for some three hundred "sixth formers."

Those of us who were able to attend the International Summer School at Lynmouth to whose findings some reference is made elsewhere in this report, look back upon it as a particularly happy and useful experience, and we were glad that teachers from our various countries, including teachers from the Czechoslovak and Polish armies, were able to take part.

The Council's members on the Commission wish especially to record their warm appreciation of this collaboration and, from personal experience, to testify to the immense advantage that such personal contacts have brought to its work in promoting international understanding by means of lectures and discussions in the schools and vacation courses for teachers, students and senior pupils.

The representatives of both the London International Assembly and of the Council for Education in World Citizenship hope to make it an important function of the Commission to carry on and extend such work in the coming year, and were very glad to learn that the Chairman of the National Youth Committee, Mr. Chuter Ede, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education, had assured representatives of the Council that there would be a wide demand in youth centers and clubs for such speakers from the Allied countries as we could find. Some of us have already been able to arrange for some of our young people to take part in Inter-Allied Youth Weeks, organized by County Youth Committees.

A NANSEN PIONEER CAMP

For many years the Education Committee of the League of Nations Union, and in more recent years the Council for Education in World Citizenship, held each summer a number of International Camps for boys and girls to which they invited groups of young people from their countries and foreign leaders. Taking as their inspiration the life and work of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, these Nansen pioneer camps were held in wild moorland or rough mountain country where the young pioneers for a fortnight drew fresh strength from the grandeur of the countryside, led strenuous days of trekking and woodcraft pursuits, taught each other their national games and songs, their dances and their folklore around the flickering campfire at night, and opened their hearts and their minds in discussions on the meaning of the world around them. Moreover, they undertook some serious, disciplined study of the life and problems of the various countries from which they came and of international relations.

Here in the solitude of the wide open spaces, many of these young people—some of them from crowded cities—found a deeper purpose in life, and dedicated themselves to a high ideal of world service.

For lack of staff it was impossible for the Council to hold any of these camps in 1941 and 1942, but we most fully endorse the recommendations made by its International Conference of Teachers at Lynmouth this year that another Nansen Pioneer Camp should be held in 1943, and we would most gladly co-operate in the organization of such a camp and give to some of the boys and girls and young leaders from all our countries the opportunity to take part. Indeed, we can imagine few finer ways of using the opportunity that exists in Great Britain during the war of building up a real solidarity of feeling and of purpose between young people of the United Nations.

A suggestion has been made by some of the Council's representatives on the Commission that the ideal site for such a Nansen pioneer camp might well be the Norwegian School at Dromtochty Castle. If the Council approves, we would gladly approach our various national authorities and the British Council to see if some financial support and temporary staff could be provided in order to enable the Council to organize such a camp in 1943 at Dromtochty Castle or elsewhere. We understand that apart from such provision as it might be necessary to make for the railway fares and maintenance of some, at least, of the boys and girls attending the camp, the sum of money required for actual organization would not be very large.

TO PROMOTE A WIDER UNDERSTANDING

At the best such plans as these will directly affect only some of our boys and girls and a very small proportion of the total number of British children. We are, of course, all of us aware of the fine work of many bodies and notably of the British Council, but much more *must* be done to turn to good and lasting account for the future the opportunities that the disasters of war have created.

We ourselves have decided that the representatives of each non-British group on the Commission should prepare:

(a) Lists of professors, teachers and research students from the allied countries who would like to receive personal introductions to their British colleagues or those from other countries now in Great Britain and engaged in similar work, so that such introductions may be arranged through the Council for Education in World Citizenship, the International Federation of University Women or other bodies.

(b) Lists of their schools in this country that would welcome visits from British and other Allied teachers or children and lists of schools or other groups of children who would welcome hospitality in British schools and homes, so that such visits and hospitality may be arranged.

(c) Particulars of films (especially 16 mm. silent films), slides, books, charts, diagrams, etc., illustrating various phases of life in their countries which would be available for showing in the schools and elsewhere.

(d) Particulars of paintings, drawings and models which could be lent for exhibition in the schools.

(e) Particulars of parties of children who might be prepared to visit British schools as choirs to sing their national songs, groups to present short simple plays or to give exhibitions of national dances, or sports teams.

If sufficient information is forthcoming, we propose to ask the Council for Education in World Citizenship to publish for us a pamphlet showing the various opportunities that are open to the schools and to send copies to the national educational authorities of the various countries as well as to the local education authorities and public and secondary schools of Great Britain. We would also wish to discuss the whole scheme with representatives of the Board of Education and local education authorities and of the British Council, with a view to ensuring the greatest possible measure of success.

As a further development of such a scheme we have in mind the possibility of a really important, comprehensive and well-

planned United Nations Exhibition for boys and girls. Exhibitions have already been organized by the British Council, and we would like to submit for their consideration and that of the Board of Education that such an exhibition in London or some other convenient center would be equally welcome to school children and that a nucleus of it should later be sent round the country to be seen by pupils from as many schools as possible. In such an exhibition as we have in mind, each of the United Nations would illustrate its history, life and culture, giving special prominence to the contribution that each nation has made to civilization through the work of its painters, writers and scholars, its men of science, its explorers, its doctors and its men of action in many fields of constructive human activity, in order to spread among the British people—and particularly young people—a better understanding both of the debt that all the nations owe to one another and of the need for collective action against such enemies as famine, disease and evil men.

Finally, we have examined and fully endorsed the proposal made by the Council's International Conference of Teachers at Lynmouth that the Association of University Professors and Lecturers of Allied Countries in Great Britain, the London School of Economics, the International Relations Departments of the Universities of Oxford and Wales, and the Royal Institute of International Affairs, should consider the need, and the possibility that now exists, for establishing in Great Britain an international institution of university character for research and teaching in all subjects related to international affairs and for the provision of popular extension courses in those subjects.

ACTION ON THIS REPORT

If this report secures your approval we trust that you will submit it to the Governments of the United Nations, who alone could carry out its major recommendations, and that you will authorize us to present it with your full support to their Boards of

Education and Ministries of Public Instruction by means of deputations, or otherwise, as may be most convenient and effective. We should wish also to submit it to a number of distinguished educationists and public men with a view to securing their support and their advice in any later and more detailed discussions on the methods of carrying out certain of the broad principles we have proposed.

We should, however, be glad to see our proposals much more widely discussed and, for this reason, suggest that the report should be published—with the omission of certain paragraphs which we would indicate—and should be distributed as extensively as possible. Public interest has been aroused on questions of educational reform, and we believe that it would be to the general good that the kind of proposals we make on matters of public policy should be publicly debated. We believe they would find a very wide measure of support and we should do whatever we could to commend them by means of meetings and conferences of teachers and educational authorities, articles in the educational journals and more general periodicals and daily press.

Furthermore, it is obvious that certain great medical, relief and philanthropic organizations, student and youth societies and juvenile organizations, or their adult workers, would be called upon to play a great part in some of the work of reconstruction on the continent that we have touched upon in this report. We therefore propose to invite them to appoint representatives to confer with us on these matters.

During the coming year we hope also to consider in greater detail than has yet been possible, and with expert advice, the problems of re-education in Italy, Japan and other enemy countries and to submit to you our recommendations as to what policy should be pursued toward those countries with regard to education, as we have reported now with regard to re-education in Germany. In addition, we intend to prepare and submit for your consideration certain supplementary papers treating in greater de-

tail some of the proposals we have set out in this report. We have, for example, already invited the Welsh Committee for Education in World Citizenship—which has now appointed representatives to take part in the future work of our Commission—to make a special study of our proposal for an International Organization for Education and to draft a supplementary paper on that subject, examining from the experiences of the past twenty years the work that such an organization might have done and could reasonably be expected to undertake in the altered circumstances likely to prevail after this war, and suggesting in greater detail a possible constitution and procedure.

Finally, we would draw your attention to the fact that in the United States of America a number of official and private studies are being conducted on the very questions that we have examined in this report and on similar subjects.

We have already made a number of inquiries and, if our report meets with your approval, there are certain bodies in America to which we should send copies, for we believe it to be of the greatest importance that there should be the fullest possible consultation with them. Indeed, if the opportunity occurred it would, in our view, be most desirable for one or more of our members to visit America for this purpose as soon as possible.

Chapter V

Summary of Recommendations

It has been said of the members of the Peace Conference of Versailles that most of them were almost wholly absorbed in the political problems of the peace treaty but not sufficiently concerned with that economic intercourse between the nations which should have been the life-blood of the new body politic, while they ignored almost entirely the need for educating the hearts and minds of men to inspire and operate successfully the great system they devised. Certain it is that in David Hunter Miller's two-volume book on "The Drafting of the Covenant," all the references during all the discussions he records in so much detail that have any bearing whatever on education could be put into a couple of his fourteen hundred pages. The only mention of international education appears to have been made by a delegation from the International Council of Women, led by Lady Aberdeen.

In the course of the report of that delegation's appearance before the Commission there is the following statement: "Mrs. Schivoni asked that the League should establish an international education bureau. Mrs. Fern-Andrews, of the American School Citizenship League, supported her." That was all. President Wilson dismissed this deputation, that had admittedly put forward also a great many requests affecting the status of women, with the words, "... that if it were not possible to accede to all the requests it was only because the League could not begin by arranging all the affairs of mankind."

This time, when the challenge to the whole moral and intel-

lectual roots of our civilization is so clearly seen, the restoration, protection and advancement of sound education must surely be among the major tasks of those who are called upon to settle the affairs of the world after the war:

The great principles of freedom and justice, co-operation and good faith upon which our civilization is founded, are the basis of all good life in the family and school and within the state as well as in the world community. We make no distinction. Those of us who are here in exile long to return home. Our country is always in our minds. We are prepared to give our lives that it may once more be free. And for all of us, from the great free nations of the world or from the imprisoned countries, true patriotism is a force we deeply cherish and would pass on to others through our schools. Not for us a dull world of uniformity in which all national differences are obliterated; we rejoice in the rich diversity of a world of free peoples in which each national group preserves its own tradition and can develop along its own lines. But it is the task of others to consider how the national heritage may best be taught; our task has been to consider how the individual can best be educated as a member of a society that includes but is wider than his own country.

We do not know what forms of organization may be established between the States, what regional federations or confederations may be formed, but we know that the world today is one society, interdependent for its well-being and for its very existence in the age of modern weapons, a world in which, as President Roosevelt has said, "there is complete unanimity of spirit among all youth, all kinds and kindreds who fight to preserve or regain their freedom. This is a development of historic importance. It means that the old term 'Western civilization' no longer applies. World events and the needs of all humanity have joined the culture of Asia with the culture of Europe and the Americas to form for the first time a real world civilization."

It is for that world, so that its unity may endure, that we must educate the rising generation, so that each may seek his country's greatness in the measure of its contribution to the world, and the day may come to which President Wilson told a committee at the Paris Peace Conference he looked forward "when men would be as ashamed of being disloyal to humanity as they were now of being disloyal to their country."

We must educate men fit for such a society while we ourselves strive to create a society fit for such men.

We have recently come across some words that one of the distinguished Honorary Vice-Presidents of the London International Assembly, Professor René Cassin, wrote in 1932 in connection with the Moral Disarmament Committee of the World Disarmament Conference and we repeat them here for they go to the root of this problem of education for a world community:

"A living social unit can exist only if each of its members is either consciously or unconsciously aware of what he has in common with his neighbors; the strength of the family or national bond lies precisely in the *belief* of the members of the group in the existence of a common origin, common interests and a common ideal, and in the necessity of common rules to govern them. On a still higher plane, the League of Nations, already a political reality, will not be in possession of its full spiritual powers until the individuals belonging to the various national groups have a common bond of belief, and when the constitutional, civil and economic institutions of these various groups have been brought into harmony with their international obligations."

There must be, he declared, "a feeling of mutual goodwill as between the members and responsible leaders" of the separate communities within the larger unit, a goodwill "somewhat in the nature of a religion," and he continued:

"Humanitarianism arises out of a moral impulse toward goodwill and out of the aspirations of the heart. Without such lofty

elements, no human society worthy of the name can exist, but there is danger that, in the sphere of action, humanitarianism may be no more than a vague faith, void of all definite content, and at the mercy of the storms roused in the depths of human nature by the struggle for existence or by the outbursts of passion.

"At this stage rises the urgent need for an intellectual solution of the problem, by which the mind may be educated to nurture the generous instincts of the heart and to assist them in their development. There exists already an international machinery, still very imperfect, for dealing with economic and financial problems; every day sees an additional link in the network of legal obligations binding State to State. *What chance is there of achieving any success in the effective moral disarmament of the members of the various national communities, unless we can provide some machinery of an international character for the intellectual training of the masses as well as for the elite? . . .* We must accustom people to '*penser l'homme*.' We need less sentimental humanitarianism and more real humanism."

It has been one of the main purposes of our report to suggest such "machinery of an international character."

And so we arrive at the end of this first stage of our work and await your decision. We believe the time has come when our proposals, if you approve them, should be put forward for the consideration of the Governments. In his message to the Conservative Party Conference on October 1st, Mr. Churchill said that we must not "be taken unawares when victory on the field of battle has, at last, been won. It is right and desirable that informed forethought should be given to the complex problems of rehabilitation and reconstruction that will await solution." And more recently General Smuts has declared that one of the reasons for his coming to London was that "with the coming of the offensive stage of our war effort, our thoughts should also begin to turn to the end and to the conditions that may follow the end of this greatest tragedy in the history of our race," to "the most important of all

the problems before us—the winning of the peace to follow the winning of the war.”

In particular we would wish to commend our proposals to the earnest consideration of the President of the Board of Education and the Ministers of Education in the Allied Governments, including those now temporarily established in London, for however vast or attenuated their immediate work may be, they have vast responsibilities for the future, stretching far out into the international sphere.

The President of the Board of Education, Mr. R. A. Butler, has himself spoken of the importance of education for world citizenship and, this month, is reported to have told teachers attending a short course on “The Growth of the English-speaking Peoples” that they are now called upon to live a wider life and that they need to keep in touch with world events and the ideas and ideals of the community. He called upon them to train the children in their charge for the responsibilities of world citizenship; and by the measures he has already taken to provide for them courses of lectures on some of the allied countries he has gone far to enable them to respond effectively to his call. The Board of Education was, Mr. Butler said, working on a world canvas and its aim was to impart knowledge, or the ability to acquire knowledge, from which an understanding of the British family of nations and of the world would spring.

We understand that when Mr. Butler last received a deputation from the Council for Education in World Citizenship he was good enough to express his interest in our Joint Commission and to say that he would carefully study its report. We are told that he also uttered a warning against the danger of indulging in fantasies and spoke of the importance of combining realism with ideals. We believe it will be found that in our report we have avoided all extravagances. We are concerned only with the hard facts. First, that the task of restoring what has been destroyed is far beyond all private enterprise and charity and must call for the

concerted action of the Governments. And secondly, that civilization could hardly survive a third world war. Truly men must *learn or perish*.

Our principal recommendations are:

1. That Governments be asked to recognize that the urgent tasks of educational reconstruction in the occupied countries, as soon as they have been set free, must be one of the chief responsibilities of the United Nations, and

2. That, for this reason, a United Nations' Bureau for Educational Reconstruction should be appointed now to prepare, and so far as possible put into operation, the necessary plans for meeting those needs which are too great for any one nation to bear alone.

3. That, in any period during which Germany may be occupied, the occupying powers should exercise their control over education through a High Commissioner for Education who should be appointed in advance by the United Nations and be ready to start work at the moment the occupation begins.

4. That the principal duties of the High Commissioner for Education should be to insure that the Nazi and militarist influences are utterly eradicated from German education, and to inspire, facilitate and supervise the re-education of the German people.

5. That in order that the United Nations may remain united after the war, their peoples must be inspired by a dominating motive to build a better world and that, for this reason, it will be necessary to provide greatly extended educational facilities, subsidized where necessary by the community of nations, and education in the principles of world citizenship.

6. That for the advancement of education generally and for the promotion of education in world citizenship it is urgently necessary that the United Nations should agree to establish as soon as may be practicable an International Organization for Education

and should forthwith undertake the necessary preparations for that act.

7. That such an organization should be one of the principal parts of any new international authority that may be created after the war on a world scale or for any group of States, and

8. That it should be able to draw upon the wisdom of Governments, education authorities, teachers', parents' and students' associations, each of which should be represented upon it, so that it may thus combine with the authority of the Governments the active participation of those upon whom will chiefly fall the task of carrying out its decisions.

Resolution

The report of the Joint Commission was considered by the London International Assembly in plenary session on December 14th, 1942, and on January 18th, 1943, when the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"This Assembly records its general approval of the First Report of its Fifth Commission, the Joint Commission with the Council for Education in World Citizenship, on 'The Place of Education, Science and Learning in Post-War Reconstruction' and commends the report to the earnest consideration of the Governments and educational authorities of the United Nations.

"In particular the Assembly would draw the attention of those Governments and educational authorities to the urgent importance of

- (a) Establishing a United Nations' Bureau for Educational Reconstruction, to prepare to meet those urgent needs of educational reconstruction in the enemy-occupied countries which must be one of the chief responsibilities of the United Nations after the war.
- (b) Appointing now for each of the enemy countries they intend to occupy, a High Commissioner for Education whose task it should be utterly to eradicate the Nazi, Fascist and militarist influences in education, and to inspire, to facilitate and to supervise measures by the peoples of those countries for their own re-education.

- (c) Preparing plans for the establishment of an International Organization for Education to promote the advancement of education generally and, in particular, of education for world citizenship so that education may provide a sure foundation for the post-war system.

“The Assembly moreover invites the Council for Education in World Citizenship to join with it in reappointing the Commission to continue its work during the coming year along the lines it has itself proposed.”

At its meeting at County Hall, London, on January 2nd and 3rd, 1943, the Council for Education in World Citizenship adopted the same resolution, *mutatis mutandis*, subject to agreement with the London International Assembly upon certain minor alterations, mostly of wording, in the report. These were finally agreed upon at the meeting of the Assembly on January 18th and by the Management Committee, on behalf of the Council for Education in World Citizenship, on February 10th, 1943.

Norwegian Teachers' Declaration

On April 9th, 1942, in all the schools at which education was resumed on that date, a remarkable demonstration took place. As the children assembled in the classrooms each teacher, before beginning the day's lessons, read to the pupils in his or her class the following declaration—a manifesto of faith and courage which is likely to occupy a historic place in the annals of the teaching profession:

“On February 9th the Norwegian ‘Teachers’ Front’ was established. I handed in my resignation because I was of the opinion that membership of the Front would lay upon me duties which my conscience would not allow me to fulfill. I am still of that opinion, and have recently sent the following declaration to the School Board: ‘I maintain my protest against membership of the Norwegian “Teachers’ Front.” I must at the same time, out of loyalty to my calling and my conscience, declare that I desire to continue to teach in accordance with the wishes of my pupils and their parents. I ask that this be made known to the higher authorities.’

“I made this declaration because to be a member of the Norwegian ‘Teachers’ Front’ and to teach are two fundamentally different things. For the same reason I am unable to recognize the Ministry’s view that anyone who teaches is thereby a member of the ‘Teachers’ Front.’ ‘Each child’s soul that we unfold is a new province for the country,’ says one of our dearest national songs.

We teachers, together with the home and the Church, have the responsibility of seeing that this unfolding takes place in Christian love and understanding, and in harmony with our national and cultural traditions.

"We have been entrusted with the task of giving you children that knowledge and training in thorough work which is necessary if you are to receive full and many-sided development as human beings, so that each one of you can take his or her place in the community for the benefit of himself and others. We have been given this calling by the Norwegian people, and the Norwegian people can call us to account for it. We also know that the sum total of the knowledge and working capacity which a country disposes of are the greatest and most durable of all its sources of wealth. It is our duty to protect those values. We would be untrue to our vocation if we did not devote all our energies to the service of this task, especially in this period of affliction through which we are now living. Every restriction on the activity of the school undermines the foundation on which our people's future must be built.

"The teacher's vocation, however, is not only to give the children knowledge. He must also teach the children to believe in and desire that which is true and just. He is therefore unable to teach anything which is in conflict with his conscience without betraying his calling. Anyone who does so is committing a wrong both against the pupils whom he should lead and against himself. That, I promise you, I shall never do. *I will never ask you to do anything which I consider to be wrong, nor will I teach you anything which in my opinion is not in accordance with the truth.* As hitherto, I will let my conscience be my guide, and I believe that I will then be in agreement with the great majority of the people who have entrusted me with my educational duties."

Perhaps one of the most impressive things about this declaration was the note of comradeship and solidarity between the teach-

ers and the children. The children of Norway, too, have learned during the past eighteen months, in the hard school of experience, to value and to fight for many things which years of instruction in "civics" might not have made them appreciate so well. The part they have played in the Norwegian struggle for freedom alongside their parents and teachers is described more fully in the special *Norwegian Survey*, issued by the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Information on May 8th, 1942.

Appendix II

A United Declaration

The following declaration was adopted by the International Conference of Teachers, Lynmouth, in August, 1942:

"1. This International Conference of Professors and Teachers from Belgium, China, Czechoslovakia, Fighting France, Greece, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and the U.S.S.R.; from Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Australia, Canada and South Africa, with refugee anti-Fascist teachers from Austria, Germany, Hungary and Spain, convened by the Council for Education in World Citizenship and meeting at Badminton School, Lynmouth, from August 13th to 20th, 1942, desires first of all to render humble and solemn homage to all those professors, teachers and other intellectual workers who daily risk their lives or have already fallen in the fight for the defense or liberation of their own lands and the freedom of the human mind, and pledges itself as a body of soldiers and citizens to fight and work until victory has been won.

"2. The Conference profoundly believes that there exists for all teachers a double responsibility. As citizens they must strive to create a state of society in which the children whom they teach may grow up to live their lives in freedom from fear and freedom from want and to contribute the best that is in them to the welfare of their fellow men. As teachers they must strive to ensure that all children everywhere shall enjoy such social conditions and receive such education as shall enable them to develop to the full

their natural gifts of spirit, mind and body for the service of their fellow men in a society in which service to the community rather than personal profit is the main incentive.

"3. Firmly persuaded (a) that only through a system of "Government of the people, by the people, for the people" in national and international affairs may these aims be fully achieved, (b) that the survival and progress of the human race depends ultimately upon man's power to use the resources of the earth and the discoveries of science for the common weal, upon a sense of world citizenship, knowledge and understanding of international affairs and a desire to act upon the principles of freedom, justice and mercy, co-operation and good faith, the Conference declares that all young people should be taught these principles as the foundation of the good society in home and school and in the world community; be led to understand something of the nature of the inheritance of religion, culture and science, to which each race and nation has contributed and of which they are trustees, and should so come to seek their country's greatness in the measure of its service to mankind; and learn something of the political and economic interdependence of all men everywhere, of the institutions that are created for the government of local, national and international affairs and of the responsibilities of citizenship toward them."

